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ABSTRACT

This document reports on an evaluative study of New York City's community education centers. Initiated in 1968, the Community Education Centers (CEC) Program is designed to coordinate and concentrate educational services for disadvantaged persons with low educational achievement and restricted social mobility. By involving citizens in identification of educational and social problems, and in program planning and implementation, CEC provides a framework for educators, administrators, and citizens to work together in solving local problems. (Illustrations may reproduce poorly.) (LLF)

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AN EVALUATION OF THE

COMMUNITY EDUCATION CENTERS

1969–70

URBAN EDUCATION GRANT,
NEW YORK STATE EDUCATION DEPARTMENT

An evaluation of a New York City school district educational project funded by the "New York State Urban Educational Program" enacted at the 1968 Legislative session of the New York State Legislature for the purpose of meeting special educational needs associated with poverty. (Chapter 685, Section 9, subdivision 12, laws of 1968.)

Project Director:

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August, 1970

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August 31, 1970

Dr. Samuel D. McClelland
Acting Director
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BOARD OF EDUCATION
OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK
110 Livingston Street
Brooklyn, New York 11201

Dear Dr. McClelland:

In fulfillment of the agreement dated February 6, 1970 between the New York City Public Schools and the Center for Field Research and School Services, I am pleased to submit two hundred and fifty copies of the final report, An Evaluation of the Community Education Centers.

The Bureau of Educational Research and the professional staff of the New York City Public Schools were most cooperative in providing data and facilitating the study in general. Although the objectives of the team was to evaluate a project funded under an Urban Education Grant, this report goes beyond this goal. Explicit in this report are recommendations for modifications and improvement of the program. Consequently, this report will serve its purpose best if it is studied and discussed by all who are concerned with education in New York City -- the Board of Education, professional staff, students, parents, lay leaders, and other citizens. To this end, the study team is prepared to assist with the presentation and interpretation of its report. In addition, the study team looks forward to our continued affiliation with the New York City Public Schools.

You may be sure that New York University and its School of Education will maintain a continuing interest in the Schools of New York City.

Respectfully submitted,

Arnold Spinner

ARNOLD SPINNER
Director

AS:n

cc: Dean Daniel E. Griffiths

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

On behalf of everyone involved in the evaluation of Community Education Centers Program in New York City, I would like to thank Dr. Samuel D. McClelland, Acting Director, Bureau of Research, New York City Board of Education; Rufus Shorter, Director, Community Education Centers, New York City Board of Education; and Arnold Spinner, Director, Center for Field Research and School Services, New York University for their cooperation in the implementation of this evaluation. We also wish to acknowledge the kind cooperation we received from Community Education Centers personnel in the Districts during our six months of work with them.

I would like to extend my personal appreciation to the professional staff members of the New York University School of Education who contributed their expertise to this study; to the Core Staff who worked so diligently on managing and conducting the data collection; to the part-time staff who also aided greatly in collecting and tabulating data; and to the secretarial staff whose patience and perserverance made this report possible.

In particular I would like to thank the following persons for assisting me in writing Volume I of the report: Dr. Herbert London, Joseph Young, and Ann Chandler.

For their evaluations of programs which appear in Volume II, I would like to thank the faculty members of New York University whose names appear on the Staff Roster. My special thanks also goes to Sheila Sperber for the administrative and editorial responsibility she assumed in helping to compile this volume.

I wish to thank Dr. Clyde McDaniel, Dr. Henry Perkinson, Dr. Norman Dixon, and David Novach for the supporting studies which appear in Volume III. The historical and sociological perspective provided by their papers gave a framework in which to view the reports in Volume II, and this provided a foundation for Volume I.

I also wish to extend my thanks to individual members of the Core Staff: John Gormley, Coordinator; Ann Chandler, Staff Writer; Sheila Sperber, Administrative Assistant; Beverly Wallace and Sara D'Alessandro, Graphics Coordinators; Howard Waxman, Data Processing Specialist; and to the Research Specialists.

Since this is a joint effort, defects in this report are entirely the fault of the Evaluation Director. The real merits of this report must be attributable to all who contributed to its completion.

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GENERAL OUTLINE

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II. METHODOLOGY
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IV. ADMINISTRATION
V. DEMOGRAPHY AND ENVIRONMENT
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I
INTRODUCTION

During the past decade attention has been focused on the increasing problems plaguing urban areas throughout America. In every instance critical social indicators such as health, social mobility, income trends, public order and safety, educational improvement, citizen participation and individual alienation, have suggested a deepening crisis in our urban areas. Part of the problem is related to the process of urbanization itself. As the size and complexity of demographic characteristics of a city's population have increased, it has become evident that traditional concepts of representation in public institutions have to be revised. Attempts must be made to insure close contact between representatives and their increasingly heterogeneous constituencies.

Nowhere is this crisis more evident than in the schools. The majority of inner-city residents feel that it is impossible for general community representatives (school board members, city councilmen, etc.) to articulate and act on the diverse views held by their constituents. To counter this situation, it has been proposed that representatives who are personally familiar with local concerns be given the responsibility of petitioning government agencies directly for needed services. It is felt that community residents will represent the views of their constituents and peers more adequately than representatives selected on a city-wide basis. Even though this view does not take into account all of the problems associated with representation, it does involve citizens in shaping those community policies which directly affect themselves and their families. It is evident that such involvement of community residents contributes to their sense of participation while decreasing their sense of alienation. The intangibles of participation and alienation can determine whether or not it is possible for community members to cope with the problem of urbanization.

As urbanization expanded during the past century, the need for greater coordination of resources led to the centralization of services. But now many urban residents feel that centralization of services cannot respond to the concerns of individual citizens, and that the trend toward the centralization should be reversed. According to

many observers, services must be decentralized so that residents in a specified area can aid in the identification and solution of problems common to that area. Without meaningful community involvement, it appears doubtful that remedies for urban problems will be lasting in their effects.

During the past three years, more community participation has been solicited and encouraged. One approach was the Community Education Centers (CEC) Program that was developed and implemented in New York City. The intent of this program was to provide coordinated and concentrated educational services for disadvantaged youth and adults with low educational attainment and restricted social mobility in selected districts in New York City. As a model the CEC program is designed for community members to be involved in identifying selected educational and social problems, planning programs, and conducting programs which use a decentralized form of administration. In this sense, the CEC has the machinery and resources for professionals and laymen to work together on common problems in a selected geographical area with mutual understanding, respect, and sense of purpose.

The merits of the CEC pattern become readily evident as the means for distributing resources for federal, state, and local governments. As community members are given the opportunity to participate in activities and programs which affect their local communities, the feelings of apathy and alienation are likely to decrease. This situation should greatly enhance the prospect of cooperation between communities and their government and consequently foster a climate which may alleviate social problems. If this is achieved, government may attain its ultimate purpose: the enhancement of the general welfare for *all* its citizens.

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II
METHODOLOGY

Purpose of the Evaluation

In the New York City Public School system, the CEC is considered to be a supplement to the educational programs designed for improving the academic performances of inner-city children. An evaluation of CEC must be concerned with organizational and implementation processes, explicit and implicit program objectives, content and instructional variables, accurate program descriptions, allocation of funds, and value judgements relating to educational benefits, social improvement and community participation. The evaluation pattern should also enable the evaluator to present data in a mode that contributes to rational decision-making, more precision in planning, realistic goals, and more effective patterns of implementation. With this kind of information, the ability of professional educators and community representatives to make significant improvements in the quality of education may be greatly enhanced in the future.

A review of projects in the ten school districts of New York City which are participating in CEC shows that different districts share many of the same objectives while employing a wide variety of approaches for achieving them. It is profitable, therefore, to group programs according to the similarity of their objectives, and to compare the efficiency of their various methods.

This evaluation concerns mainly those projects that were operational prior to February 1, 1970. These range from pre-school through adult education programs and are evaluated both individually and categorically. It is the primary intent of this evaluation to provide an accurate accounting of activities and techniques employed in the New York City CEC Program and to make appropriate judgments about their effectiveness in achieving the objectives set forth in their proposals. The resulting information should be a resource to federal, state, and local school personnel who are charged with the responsibility of devising viable community programs. It should be valuable to citizen groups, scholars, and institutions seeking to find ways to make programs more

responsive to the needs of individuals. And finally, this evaluation should outline the problems and issues which need high priority in our inner-city areas today.

The Evaluation Objectives

The Center for Field Research and School Services at New York University, in consultation and cooperation with representatives of the New York City Board of Education and other groups, was guided by several major objectives in the evaluation of the Community Education Centers Program. The resulting evaluation model was specially constructed to:

1. Ascertain whether the development and implementation process has been effective.
2. Give an accurate description of the operational patterns which characterize projects in Community Education Centers.
3. Assess the effectiveness of operational projects emanating from the CEC program.
4. Delineate the relationships between selected CEC variables and project characteristics.
5. Formulate specific recommendations for improving each operational project.
6. Formulate specific recommendations for improving each Community Education Center.
7. Formulate specific recommendations increasing the effectiveness of the city-wide Community Education Programs.

The Evaluation Design

The evaluation pattern was designed by the Evaluation Director. In addition to providing the general pattern for the study, the Evaluation Director was responsible for organizing the study, coordinating the activities of all staff members, making contact with appropriate state and local personnel and preparing, with the assistance of others, the final report.

New York City's Community Education Centers Programs are evaluated in terms of *processes* and *programs*.

The study of "process" includes:

I. Administrative Process
   A. Organizational structure of centers and projects
   B. Staffing
   C. Communication process in districts, centers and projects
   D. Funding
   E. Facilities
   F. Decision-making process in centers and projects

II. Political Process
   A. Development of centers and projects
   B. Community participation in centers and projects
   C. Role of other community agencies in centers and projects
   D. Reciprocity and exchange in power relationships

Three Center Evaluation Coordinators coordinated the "process" area of the evaluation. Two of the Center Evaluation Coordinators were also responsible for the overall summary evaluation for three districts; while the remaining member of this group had the responsibility for four districts.

A Core Staff of fourteen persons served as the full-time staff for the study. This group included an Evaluation Coordinator, a Staff Writer, an Administrative Assistant, and twelve Research Assistants. All the members of this group were college graduates with additional years of either graduate study or field experience in urban education. The Core Staff was responsible for conducting the bulk of the interviews and collecting much of the information needed by members of the professional staff.

Each of the Core Staff members was responsible for one CEC District and reported directly to one of the three Center Evaluation Coordinators. The role of the Core Staff was to collect preliminary information as requested by the Center Evaluation Coordinators, the Specialists, and the Evaluation Director; to arrange appointments in the districts and to conduct tests, interviews and observations whenever possible; to orient part-time graduate students who made field visits; and, finally, to tabulate the results of all tests, interviews and observations and present the data to the three Center Evaluation Coordinators and the Specialists for their analysis.

The professional staff members were faculty in the School of Education at New York University. They were primarily responsible for evaluating the "program" aspect of the study.

"Program" referred specifically to the total effort to affect achievements, attitudes, or conditions of the target population. Nineteen professionals with expertise in several areas were assigned to analyze and evaluate projects.

Projects were classified into twelve generic categories according to their stated objectives and a professional staff member was assigned to investigate each project area.

Some evaluative reports deal with issues within each CEC project without reference to other State Urban Education and Title I programs or projects. Other reports focus on the comparison of two or more programs having certain elements in common. Evaluation activities are oriented to both absolute and comparative standards only when the distinction is clear enough to be instructive.

Professional Staff members were instructed to evaluate each project separately guided by the outline shown below:

> "In writing the program evaluation reports, there are certain specific questions that must be answered in order for the final report to be uniformly comprehensive. These questions, which will be delineated below, will cover the three basic areas of Objectives, Techniques, and Performances.
>
> Objectives:
> 1. Conceptual objectives, i.e., the objectives as conceived of by the project developer and stated in the original proposal;
> 2. Operational objectives, i.e., the objectives as perceived by the Project Director;
> 3. Classification of objectives in terms of:
>   a. long-range or short-range
>   b. primary or secondary
>   c. cognitive, affective, or related to physical well-being.
>
> Techniques:
> 1. Describe the techniques used to implement the above objectives;
> 2. Evaluate the appropriateness of the techniques in terms of these objectives;
> 3. Evaluate the effectiveness of these techniques in terms of behavior changes wherever possible.
>
> Performance:
> Where appropriate, both mean scores and measure of variability are to be included. The coefficient of variation ($V = SD/X \times 100$) is to be calculated as well as the variance (SD^2) and standard deviation (SD).

Miscellaneous:

1. Indicate those factors influencing each project that were not recognized, included or intended in the original project proposal;
2. Distinguish between those aspects of each project that can be replicated in another educational setting or situation and those that are unique to the setting under observation.
3. Distinguish between those aspects of the project that are under direct control (internal) of the Project Director and those that are not (external);
4. Cite the reasons for the success or failure of specific project activities and goals.
5. Make specific recommendations.

Each project should be evaluated individually in terms of the above. This should be followed by an interview of the program area. *Please be succinct, and present as much information as possible in tabular form.*"

Four Process Specialists were engaged in working with the three Center Evaluation Coordinators as well as independently in the study of "process" areas. They conducted broad independent studies in the following areas:

1. History
2. Political Processes
3. Demography

Although only one of these studies, Demography, appears in toto in this volume of the report, the sociological and historical perspective provided by all of these studies was integrated into the evaluation report. These reports appear in the third volume of this evaluation. While such studies may not be called for in a traditional design of educational evaluations, they are necessary components in any study which pioneers new patterns of organizing educational practice: in this case, community participation in education.

Evaluation Factors

When all the data were in, the professional staff was able to give a thorough description of each center and each project within each center. In addition to the description proferred, judgments concerning process and program were made using the eleven evaluation factors listed below:

1. Historical Perspective
2. Project Description
3. Project Objectives

4. Project Population
5. Project Techniques and Activities
6. Project Facilities and Equipment
7. Project Staff and Personnel
8. Community Involvement in Projects
9. Involvement of Supporting Services and Non-School Agencies in the Project
10. Allocation of Funds
11. Project Performance Assessment

This evaluation drew certain conclusions concerning participant performance and program effectiveness by collecting, analyzing, interpreting, and reporting data at four levels of involvement. The levels of involvement were:

1. The Community Education Centers Program
2. The District Community Education Center
3. The Individual Project
4. Distinctive Program Categories

In addition to the information that was collected in attempting to answer the questions outlined under "Evaluation Factors," the evaluation results generated fundamental and specific evidence to support conclusions about the basic concept of the Community Education Centers Programs. Some of the questions answered by the study's results were:

1. How did specific project activities contribute to improvement in participant performance?
2. How did the organization of the project and its program affect the accomplishment of specific performance and general program objectives?
3. Did the program activities foster meaningful parent participation in pupil learning processes?
4. How did the communication processes employed promote parental support for project objectives?
5. How much promotional and instructional effort is required to implement innovative practices?
6. How can educators generate specific programs for coordinated involvement of community members and professional school personnel?

7. What are some common trends that are evident when members of a community become involved in educational programs?

Implementation of the Evaluation Study

Between January and June, 1970 interviews were conducted with personnel of the Central Board of Education, selected City School officials, Advisory Committee members, District Coordinators, Project Coordinators, professional and paraprofessional project staff, participants, community members, and other related parties to gather data on CEC intentions and operations. Where appropriate, test instruments were used to measure change in performance and attitudes. Background data were collected from school records and from the files of city and social agencies.

The Interim Report was submitted March 1, 1970. The only data that had been gathered by mid-February was process (administrative) information obtained through the Project Coordinator Interview Guide. This due date did not allow ample time for the three Center Evaluation Coordinators and the area specialists to achieve maximum involvement. (They were selected and assigned projects February 1.) But in view of the problems projects experience in becoming operational, earlier involvement would probably have led to more confusion since the Core Staff could not have completed necessary preliminary tasks.

The Interim Report summarized activities through February, 1970 and outlined the various specialists' proposals to measure program effectiveness. After the Interim Report was submitted, the staff spent the month of March coding the completed Project Coordinator Interview Guides, and began to administer other instruments: The Staff Interview Guide, Utilization Data Form, Personal Data Questionnaire, and Center Staff Interview Guide, as well as the instruments of the various specialists. Data collected from the aforementioned instruments were analyzed, coded and incorporated into this final report.

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III
HISTORY

The Community Education Centers Program in New York City grew out of earlier efforts to involve local residents in processes required to solve local problems. During the early part of 1967, plans were formulated for having Centers for Total Education in designated geographical areas to coordinate existing social, educational, and civic services for community residents. New programs were to be designed by the Centers to meet needs unmet by existing social agencies. A formal proposal incorporating these concepts was submitted by the Title III Regional Centers of the New York City Board of Education to the U.S. Office of Education but it was not funded. However, the concept of Centers for Total Education was not abandoned.

During the fall of 1967, the Regents of the University of the State of New York issued a position paper on "Urban Education" that outlined ideas for "Community Education Centers."

It appears that the intent of the Regents' statement was to include community representatives in the development and implementation of programs designed to deal with local educational and social problems. Making use of the concept of the CEC as expressed by the Regents, the New York City Board of Education submitted a revised Title III Proposal for a Center for Total Education to the U.S. Office of Education under the title, "Community Education Centers." The revised proposal kept the essential features of the earlier proposal but emphasized "full community participation" in planning for the coordination of existing resources and programs and for the development of new programs where needed. The revised proposal was funded as a one-year planning grant.

Chronological Development of Events

Early 1967

The proposal for Centers for Total Education was submitted by the Title III Regional Center for the New York City Board of Education to the U.S. Office of Education. USOE rejected the proposal.

Early 1968

The Title III Regional Center of the New York City School Board modified their

original ideas, *emphasizing full community participation in the planning and development stage,* and then applied to USOE again, for a one-year planning grant only. This grant was awarded to them in the amount of $400,000. With this amount, the Title III Regional Center began to plan four Community Education Centers.

Spring, 1968

New York State Office of Urban Education allocated $20 million to New York City's Community Education Centers, specifying that $6 million be used to operate the four centers being planned under the Title III grant award. These four original centers were District 12, 28, 32 and 33 (32 and 33 being the demonstration districts, Ocean Hill Brownsville, and I.S. 201, respectively). They were chosen by the New York City Board of Education.

June, 1968

Planning began in the first four centers, using Title III guidelines.

July, 1968

State money actually became available and a unit, Operational Community Educational Centers, directed by Rufus Shorter, was created at the City Board of Education to administer the operation of CEC Centers, while the Title III office was charged with the continued administration of planning for these centers.

Late July, 1968

State Department of Education guidelines were issued, limiting the scope of Community Education Centers and making it necessary for the four original districts to modify their plans. Whereas the Title III Proposal's objectives had envisioned that CEC would provide health, social and welfare services as well as instructional programs to people of all ages, the State Department of Education required that its $20 million be spent *only* on instructional programs, and that these be aimed at a school age population. This discrepancy caused problems, and the State Department of Education was obliged to revise its guidelines on several occasions over the next twelve months. Revision caused further delays and confusion. One major revision was that projects could be for any age group, although priority would still be given to elementary and secondary school age children.

Fall, 1968

Districts 12, 28, 32 and 33 created their Advisory Committees, determined their community needs, wrote District Plans, and submitted their first set of project proposals. The

details concerning the development of early project proposals will be outlined in another section of this report. The State Guidelines left the process for choosing an Advisory Committee, and the subsequent powers of the Advisory Committee loosely defined. An *ad hoc* committee could have selected the permanent committee; selections could have been made in public meetings; District Superintendents could have selected the body or an existing Committee could have simply been appointed, as a group, to be the new CEC Advisory Committee. According to the Title III Planning Report, District Planners were selected by District Superintendents upon the recommendation of these Advisory Committees. Each District Planner was responsible for developing a District Plan, aided in some cases by a Chief Consultant. In summary, Title III personnel, Board of Education - Urban Education personnel, District Superintendents, District Planners, Chief Consultants, and Advisory Committees were involved in the planning phases of each District Center. The Title III personnel held workshops for District Superintendents and Advisory Boards, helping them get established. In some cases district personnel did a very thorough job informing the public about CEC and obtaining ideas from the community through public hearings and neighborhood canvassing. In some cases also, there was a great deal of confusion over who was to have the final decision on project content, fiscal policies, and hiring and firing of CEC personnel.

February, 1969

After seven months of planning in the original four districts, the first group of project proposals was approved. Since additional Title III planning funds remained, it was decided that Community Education Centers could be planned for six additional districts (4, 7, 13, 14, 16, 19).

Spring, 1969

While the planning process that was initiated in the Fall of 1968 was put into effect in the six new districts, the four original districts moved into the operational phase. In this phase, District Planners were replaced by District Coordinators. The District Superintendent selected the District CEC Coordinator with the advice and assistance of the Advisory Committee and Local School Board. In some instances, the Advisory Committee did the initial screening of applicants. In some districts the District Planner was qualified to become District Coordinator, and continued in that capacity. According to the Title III Planning Report, staff members for the individual projects

were hired by the New York City Board of Education or had a Certificate of Competency, approved by the Board of Examiners. They were subsequently screened and approved by the local School Board, the District Superintendent, the Advisory Committee and the District Coordinator. All other professionals were also required to be "duly qualified." Paraprofessionals were hired in accordance with Board of Education policy, and their titles and salary rates were determined by the Bureau of Personnel, Board of Education.

Summer, 1969

The original four districts and five of the six new districts (all but District 13) had summer programs in operation. However, the Title III planning grant expired June 30, 1969 before those districts, which had just started in the Spring, had a chance to plan a full complement of projects for the 1969-70 school year. They applied for State Urban Education grants to continue their planning, were awarded these grants, and were thereby able to submit proposals in August for the 1969-70 school year.

Diagram of Funding Sources for The Community Education Center

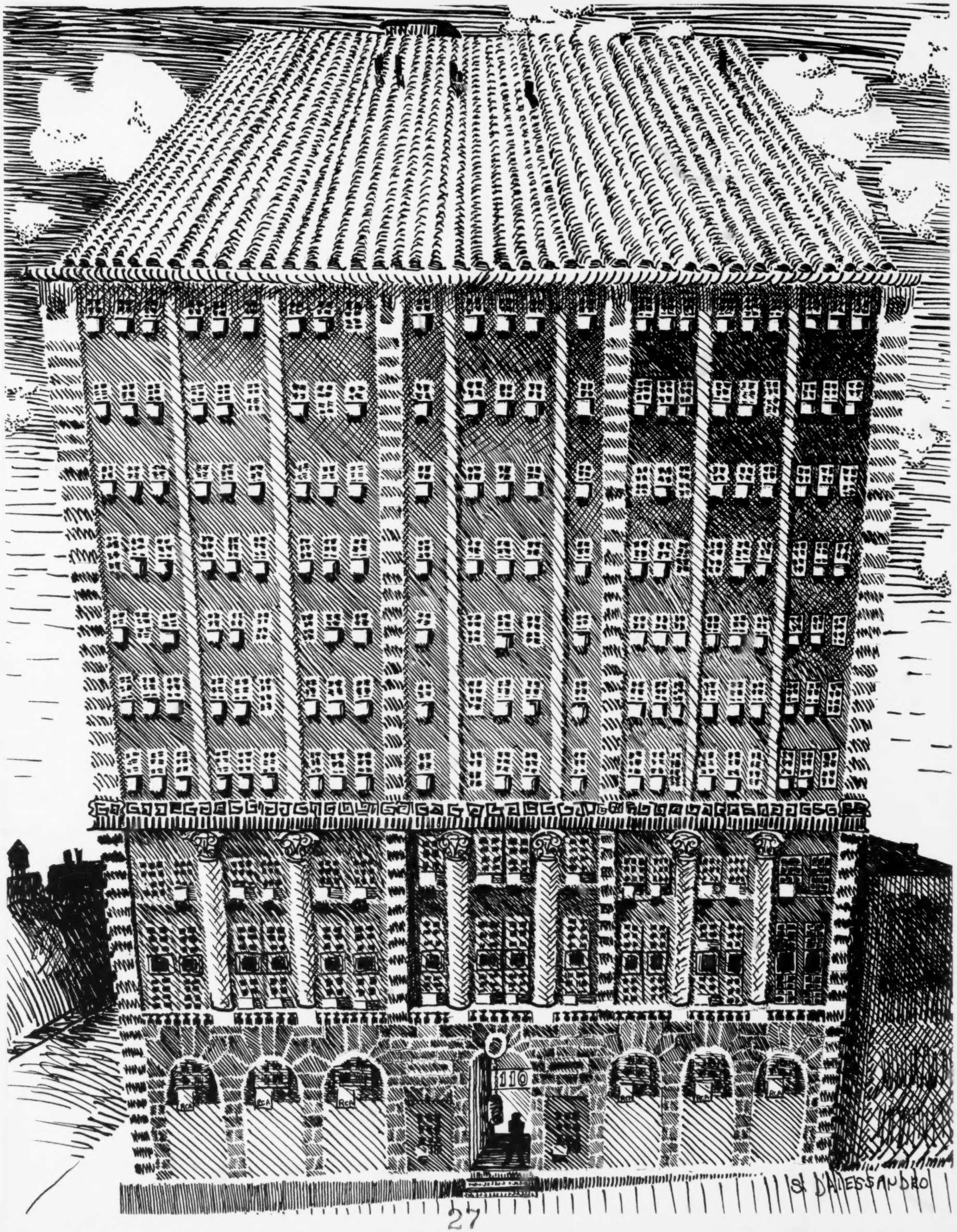
Dates	Funded Unit	Sources
Early 1968	ESEA Title III Regional Center New York City Board of Education Planning Grant: $400,000	Federal USOE
Spring, 1968	Urban Education Programs New York City Board of Education Operational Grant: $21,500,000	New York State

Process Problems in Planning

Early in the planning stage it became evident that the roles to be played by school personnel and community residents would have to be clarified if controversies were to be avoided. On several occasions, the State Urban Education Office revised its guidelines after prodding from New York City educators and other special interest groups.

The conflicts that resulted were due in no small part to the ambiguity in the State guidelines and the delays in the planning schedule.

The planning stage was also punctuated by controversy over the degree of community involvement. Some participants desired final decision-making authority on all fiscal and other administrative matters, while others suggested this request was unreasonable. Ultimately the idea of "community involvement" in the CEC was revised to reflect administrative and fiscal control by the New York City Board of Education and program control by local residents. *Because administrative and fiscal power remained with the Board, the opportunity for community residents to be involved in developing and implementing significant program decisions was prescribed and therefore limited.*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IV
ADMINISTRATION

I. Organization of the CEC

Before discussing the organization of CEC as it is currently operating in New York City, it is necessary to draw a theoretical model showing the structure of the program and the power relationships within that structure. In the following chapters this model will be compared to the operational program, and certain inconsistencies will be demonstrated.

The organizational model (Figure 1) shows the flow of funds and decision-making power in the CEC Program from the federal government to individual projects. USOE and its ESEA Title III Regional Planning Center in New York were influential in the initiation and planning stages of CEC. The New York State Department of Education funds programs through the City Board of Education. There the Director of Operational Community Education Centers administers CEC, subject to directives from the Director of Urban Education Programs. At the local level, there are CEC District Administrators who are responsible for all CEC projects within that district. Every district except 32 has a CEC District Advisory Board to offer advice on community needs and opinions. In District 32, there are separate Advisory Boards at the project level rather than one central board at the district level. It should be noted that some members of Advisory Boards serve both as project personnel (line) and as advisors (staff).

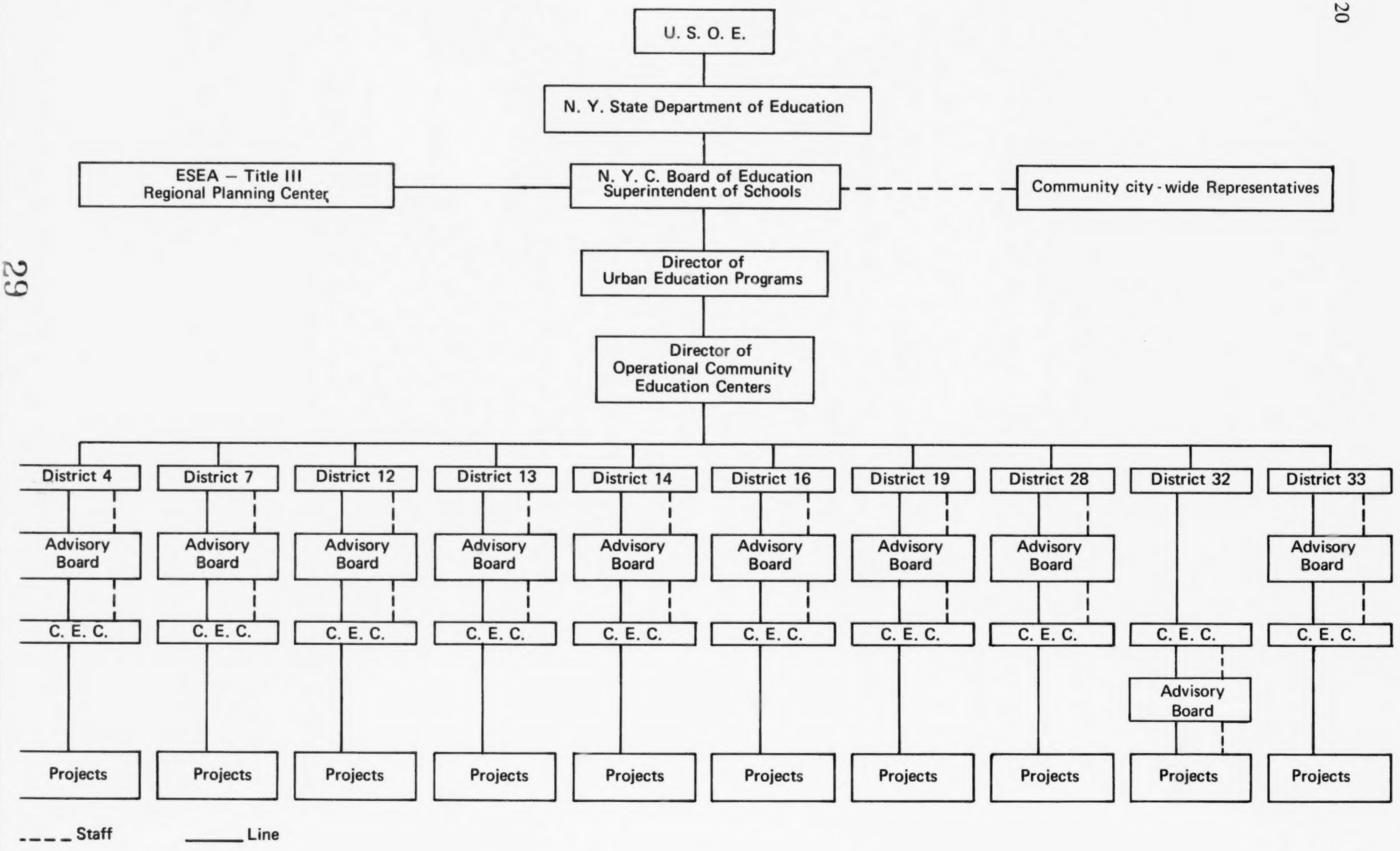

Figure 1. The Organizational Structure of the Community Education Centers Program.

Figure 2 illustrates the two possible levels of Advisory Boards. At the District level, the Advisory Board can inform the CEC District Coordinator of the opinions of the District Superintendent, and various community and city agencies. It presumably has some knowledge of the entire area, and advises on all projects. An Advisory Board at the project level advises on just one project; consequently, there are several when a District has decided to use this pattern.

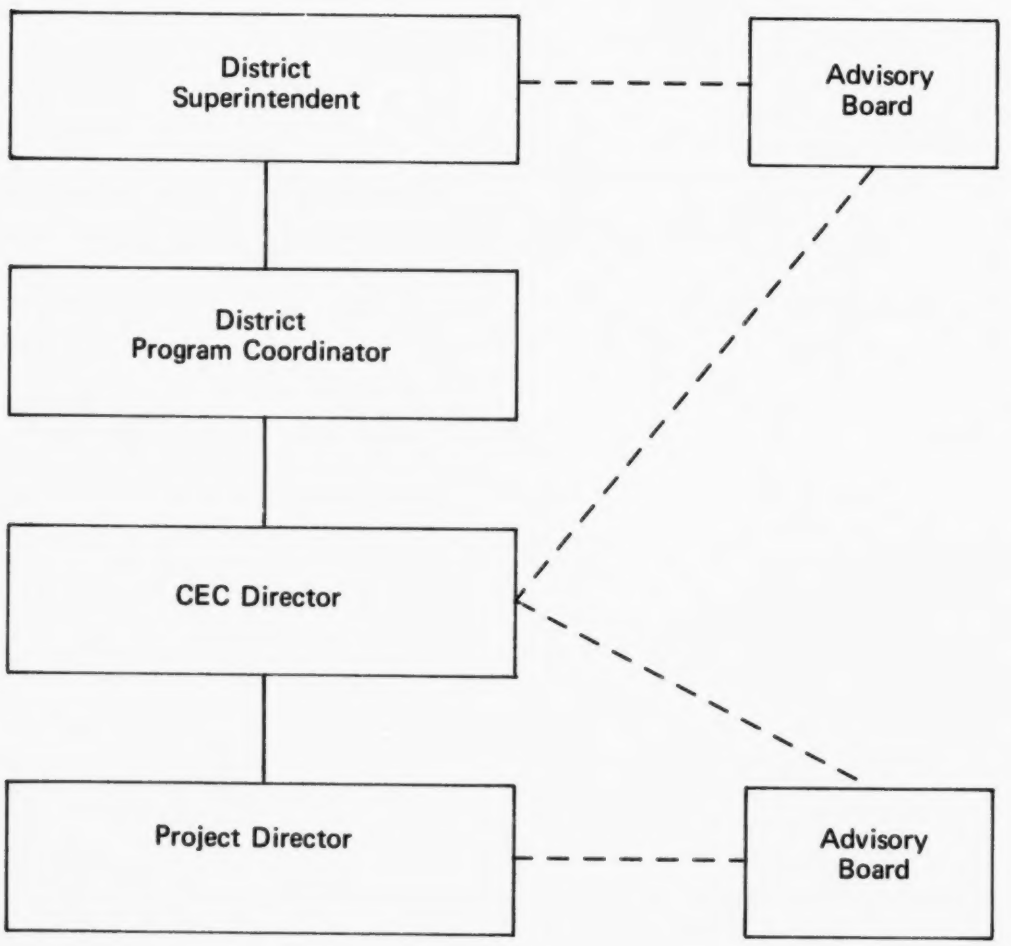

Figure 2. The Relationship of the Advisory Board Structure to the CEC Program at the Two Levels of Involvement.

Figure 3 indicates the role of CEC District Advisory Boards. The District Advisory Board coordinates information from the District Superintendent, the various community agencies, and larger city-wide state or federal agencies concerning programs already existing in the neighborhood, and the need for other programs. The Board passes this information on to the CEC District Director, assisting him in determining community needs and community reactions to existing projects. He then may take appropriate action regarding each CEC project.

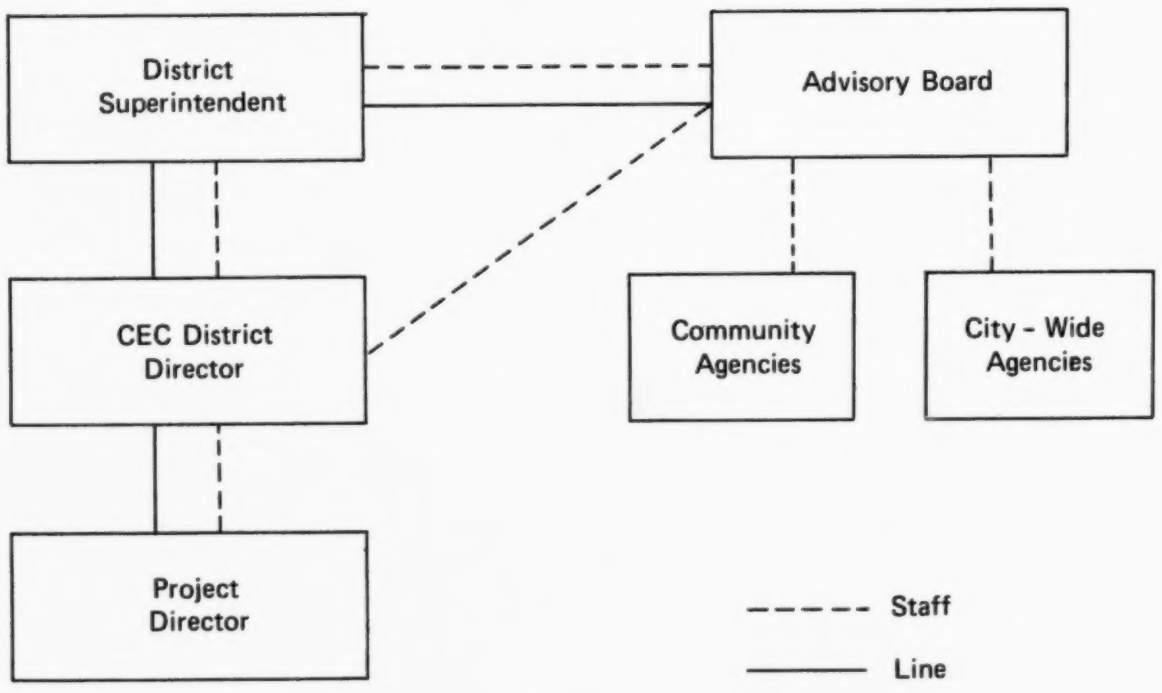

Figure 3. The Relationship of the Advisory Board to the District Structure.

Figure 4, shows a typical CEC project. Each is led by a Project Coordinator (sometimes called Project Director or Teacher-in-Charge). He may be assisted by other coordinators, each handling a specific area of the project. The professional program personnel may be instructional (teachers) or supporting (medical personnel, social workers, psychologists, etc.). They deal directly with the participants, or may supervise paraprofessionals who deal with participants. In the former case, the paraprofessionals assist the professionals in many complementary ways.

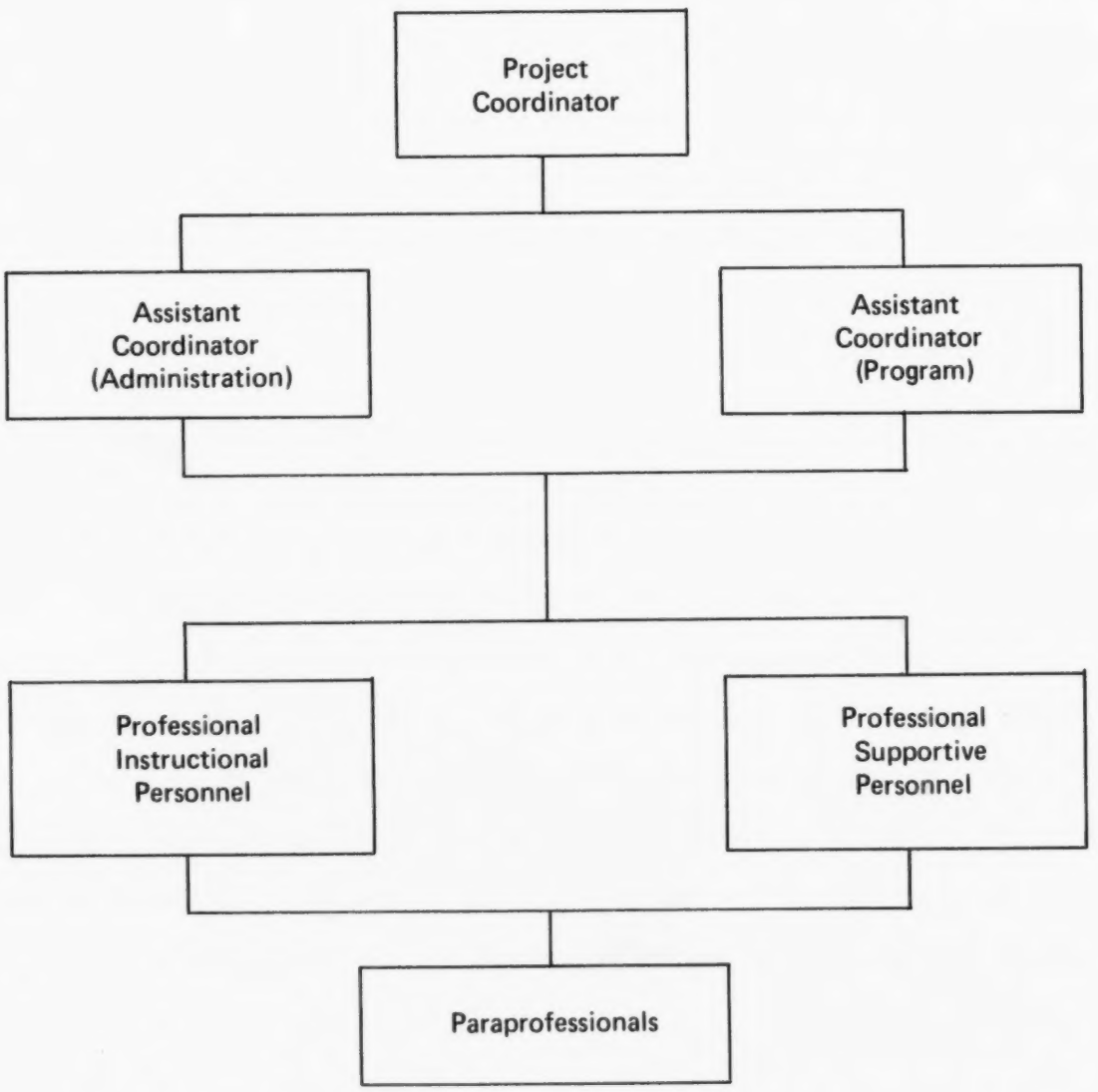

Figure 4. The Organizational Structure of Individual Projects in the CEC Program.

Now that the organizational structure has been illustrated one can examine its details: the personnel involved, how they become involved, the communicatior among them, and kinds of decisions made within their structure.

II. Staff

A. Personnel

Due to the number and diversity of projects (101 projects of which 10 are administrative) a multiplicity of job titles and salary ranges has developed with no consistency among districts. Making comparisons across districts proved to be quite difficult because precise job descriptions were not available.

In Table I all the job titles used in CEC projects are listed. Of these 95 job titles, District 19 (East New York) utilizes only 14 different titles, while District 32 (Ocean Hill Brownsville) utilizes 58. District 32 is followed closely by District 33 (I.S. 201 Complex) which has 43 separate staff titles, and District 12 (Morrissania-Tremont) which uses 33 different job titles. It is therefore obvious that the demonstration districts utilize more varied personnel titles than any other districts. This is particularly interesting in District 33, which employs relatively few persons.

While all ten Districts have "District Directors" and "Teachers" there are 40 job titles (42.1% of the titles noted) which occur in only one district. Interestingly, 22 of these 40 job titles occur in one or the other of the two demonstration districts. Of the 95 job titles indicated, 21 (22.1% of the titles noted) occur in only two districts and seven of these occur in the two demonstration districts. Thus 29 job titles, or about 30% of all titles listed, appear only in the demonstration districts. District 12 is next in variety and uniqueness of job titles with six that are unique, and six which appear only in District 12 and one or both of the demonstration districts. If one were to add the 40 titles which occur in only one district to the 21 titles which occur in only two districts the result would be that 61 out of 95 or almost two thirds of all job titles used in CEC projects occur in only one or two districts. (See Table 1.1.)

Table 1

CEC Staff Titles by District

Job Titles	Districts										Total number of districts using job title	Total number of staff with same job title
	4	7	12	13	14	16	19	28	32	33		
Project Director			1						1	1	3	3
Senior Project Coordinator								1		1	2	2
Project Coordinator	2	4	9	4	3	2	4	4	16	10	10	58
Asst. Project Coordinator		2	3				1		4	1	5	11
Material & Resources Coord.									1		1	1
Curriculum Coordinator									1		1	1
Programs Coordinator										1	1	1
Coordinator						2					1	2
Teacher	19	66	156	23	90	1169	100	96	61	31	10	1811
Teacher-Trainer			1		4						2	5
Supervisor						1	9		2		3	12
School Supply Store Supervsr.									1		1	1
School Psychiatrist								1			1	1
School Psychologist			1				2	4	1	1	5	9
Consulting Psychologist				1	1						2	2
Medical Specialist	4							1			2	5
Nurse	3							2	2		3	7
School Social Worker								2	17	1	3	20
Guidance Counselor	4		3	2	2	2	8	13	5	1	9	40
Guidance Supervisor				1							1	1
Attendance Teachers				4							1	4
Youth Workers			2								1	2
Group Leaders			3								1	3
Chief Supervisor of TV									2		1	2
Supervisor of TV									2	1	2	3
Senior Photographer									2	1	2	3
Film Manager									1		1	1
TV Cameraman										2	1	2
Senior Radio Operator										2	1	2
Audio-Visual Technician			4		1						2	5
Program Manager			1								1	1
Bilingual Program Asst.			6								1	6
Human Relations Coord.	1										1	1
Community Relations Supvsr.								1		2	2	3

Table 1

CEC Staff Titles by District (continued)

Job Titles	Districts										Total number of districts using job title	Total number of staff with same job title
	4	7	12	13	14	16	19	28	32	33		
Senior Comm. Liaison Wkr.	3		2					2	4	1	5	12
Community Liaison Worker	1	1	1	7			1		7	35	7	53
Asst. Comm. Liaison Wkr.									64	7	2	71
Community Liaison Trainee	2			64					14		3	80
Supervising Stenographer		1							7		2	8
Stenographer					2	1		2	2		4	7
Senior Stenographer							2	4	4	12	4	22
Supervising Clerk		1					1		2	3	4	7
Clerk	1	2	4		1				11	5	6	24
Postal Clerk									1		1	1
Postal Clerk Trainee									1		1	1
Transcribing Typist									9	14	2	23
Typist			1	2	1	1			19	2	6	26
Clerk-Typist			2		1			1	2		4	6
Messenger									4	1	2	5
Business & Consumer Aides									30		1	30
Educational Asst.		46	27	36	102	1122	116		28	16	8	1493
Student Aide	14	41			250			314	229	38	6	886
Community Ed. Trainers								78	37	2	3	117
Teacher Aide	43	11	182		10			4	36		6	286
School Lunch Manager									1		1	1
School Lunch Aide									2		1	2
School Lunch Helper									2		1	2
Auxiliary Trainer		10	11		1	7		11	5		6	45
Family Worker			11	12		5			38		4	66
Family Assistant	10	4	10	1			1			3	6	29
Parent Program Asst.	11	1			1	1				19	5	33
Librarian Trainees						3					1	3
School Secretary	5	4	1	4	5	2	10	6	2		9	39
Motor Vehicle Operator	1										1	1
School Aide			8	1	70				2	2	5	83
Senior Clerk			2							1	2	3
Senior Clerk-Typist			1								1	1

Table 1

CEC Staff Titles by District (continued)

Job Titles	Districts										Total number of districts using job title	Total number of staff with same job title
	4	7	12	13	14	16	19	28	32	33		
District Director	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	10	10
Asst. Dist. Dir. for Admin.		1	1	1	1	1		1	1	1	8	8
Asst. Dist. Dir. for Prog.				1		1			1		3	3
Coord. for Eval. & Planning									1	1	2	2
Program Writer							1				1	1
Records Coordinator									1		1	1
Records Coordinator (fiscal)								1	1		2	2
Fiscal Officer		1			1	1					3	3
Special Assistant									1		1	1
General Assistant						1					1	1
Personnel Coordinator									1		1	1
Asst. Personnel Coordinator									1		1	1
Program Specialist										2	1	2
Senior Administrator			1							1	2	2
Administrative Associate										1	1	1
Administrative Assistant			3						10	16	3	29
Senior Accountant										1	1	1
Accountant									2	1	2	3
Assistant Accountant									2	1	2	3
Form Specialist									2		1	2
Senior Statistician			1								1	1
Statistician			1						1		2	2
Stockman										1	1	1
Asst. Stockman					1				2	1	3	4
Program Asst.	2	1									2	3
Payroll Officer	1										1	1
Program Planner		1									1	1
Librarian			1							1	2	2
Total number of staff in each district:	128	199	462	165	549	2323	257	550	710	246		5,589
Percent	2.3	3.6	8.6	3.0	9.7	41.6	4.6	9.7	12.7	4.4		
Total number of different job titles in each district:	19	19	33	17	21	18	14	22	58	43	95	

TABLE 1.1

Cumulative Frequency of the Number of Different Staff Titles by District and Ordinal Placement

Ordinal Number of Districts with the Same Job Title	Frequency		Cumulative Frequency	
	N	%	CF	%
1	40	42.1	40	42.1
2	21	22.1	61	64.2
3	10	10.5	71	74.7
4	5	5.3	76	80.0
5	5	5.3	81	85.3
6	6	6.3	87	91.6
7	1	1.1	88	92.6
8	2	2.1	90	94.7
9	2	2.1	92	96.8
10	3	3.2	95	100.0

B. Salaries

In Figures 5 and 6 the salary levels or ranges for eight basic categories of CEC personnel are shown. The eight categories are District Coordinators, Assistant District Coordinators, Project Coordinators, Professional Supporting Staff (such as social workers and psychologists), Professional instructional staff (teachers), clerical employees, and paraprofessionals. All District Coordinators receive $23,245 annually. Assistant District Coordinators are also paid annually, but there is a slight range between one district and another. Everyone else (with the exception of paraprofessionals) may be paid on an annual basis, and there is a salary range for each position.

Figure 6 indicates that the range of paraprofessional salaries fluctuates below and above that of clerical employees paid by the hour. (Of course, many clerical employees are on an annual basis instead.) It is also noted that professionals have a flat hourly fee according to their positions. There is no range within each category. The professionals' hourly rate varies from five to seven times that which is paid to adult paraprofessionals lowest on the payroll: $1.75/hour. ($1.50 is the salary for student aides.) The professionals on an hourly basis are generally being compensated for afternoon, evening, or weekend work, and that is why their hourly rates are high. But paraprofessionals are paid at the same rate, whatever time of day or night they work.

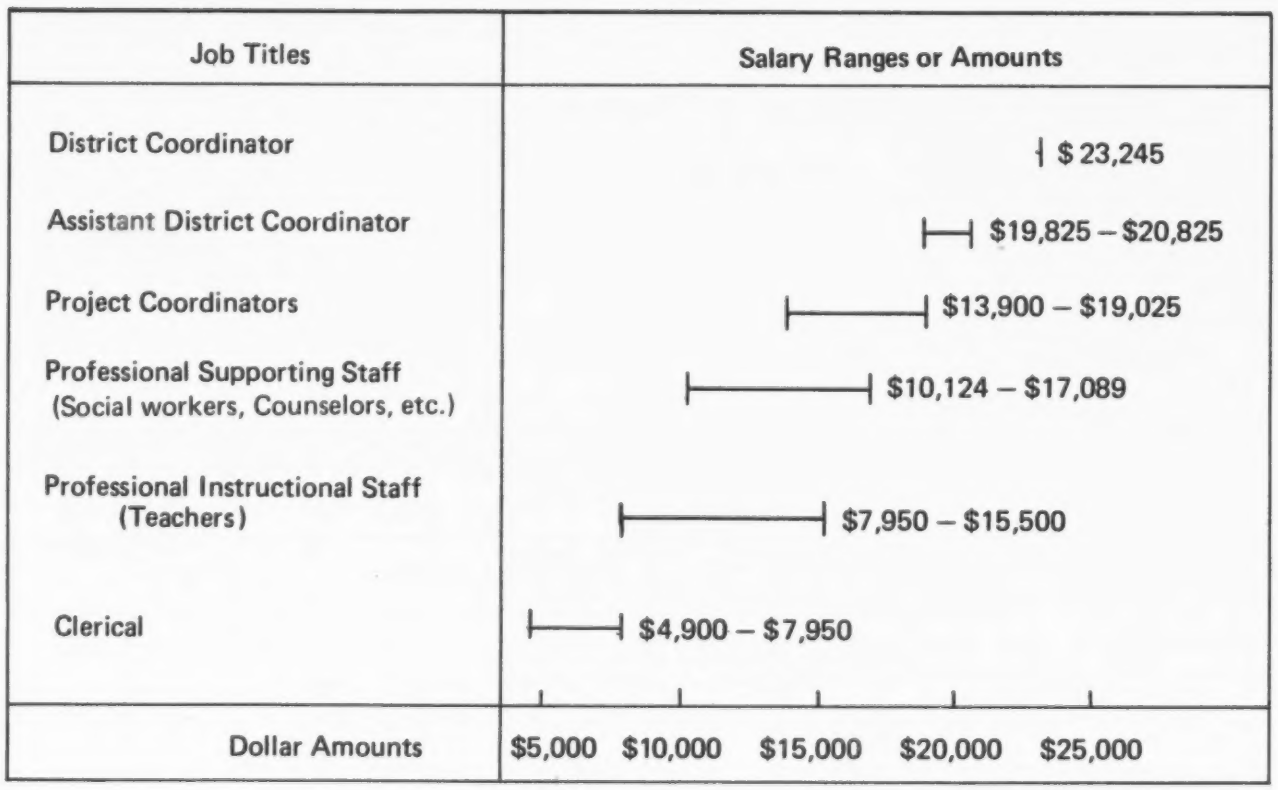

Figure 5. Range of Salaries for CEC Personnel Paid on an Annual Basis.

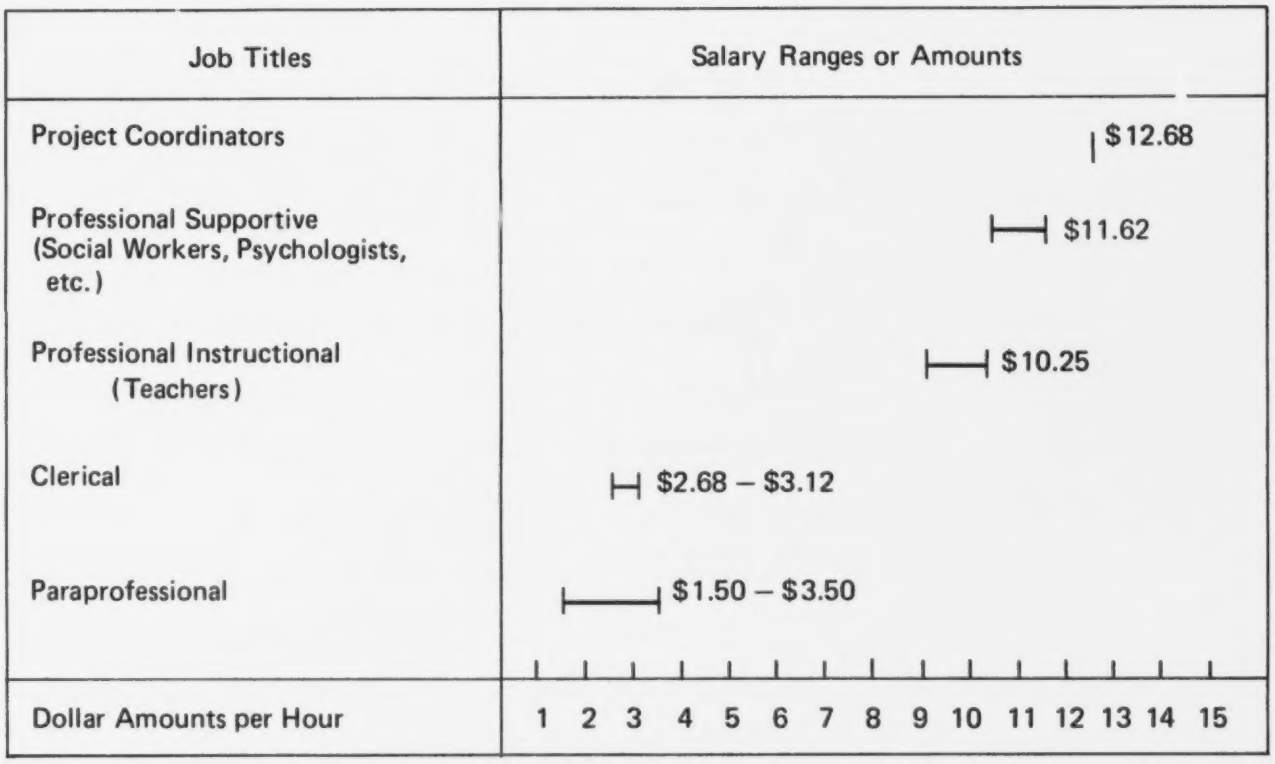

Figure 6. Range of Salaries for CEC Personnel Paid on an Hourly Basis.

C. Characteristics of Program Personnel

The largest single ethnic professional group is White (44.4%) and the next group in order of size is Black (38%). Other ethnic groups comprise 7.8% of all the CEC Professional Staff responding. Of all the CEC Professional Staff reporting, 9.8% of them did not furnish information concerning their ethnic background. (See Table 2)

TABLE 2

Ethnic Distribution of CEC Professional Staff

Ethnic Classifications	Districts										Totals	
	4	7	12	13	14	16	19	28	32	33	N	%
Black	6	2	13	6	5	10	4	22	3	7	78	38.0
Puerto Rican	3	2	5	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	13	6.3
White	0	2	15	3	25	17	12	16	1	0	91	44.4
Other	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	3	1.5
No Info.	2	2	1	0	3	4	3	3	0	2	20	9.8
TOTAL	11	8	34	10	34	31	20	42	5	10	205	100.0%

The ethnic composition of the CEC non-professional staff is a reversal of the pattern indicated for the professional staff. The largest single ethnic non-professional group is Black (55.1%) and the next largest is White (18.6%). Among the non-professional group, Puerto Ricans comprise a large portion (16.1%) of the total. All remaining members of the non-professional group comprise only 4% of those responding. Only 6.3% of those responding failed to provide information about their ethnic backgrounds. (See Table 3)

TABLE 3

Ethnic Distribution of CEC Non-professional Staff

Ethnic Classifications	Districts										Totals	
	4	7	12	13	14	16	19	28	32	33	N	%
Black	5	7	0	43	24	25	13	19	15	0	151	55.1
Puerto Rican	2	6	3	5	19	2	4	0	3	0	44	16.1
White	0	0	4	2	23	12	7	3	0	0	51	18.6
Other	1	2	1	4	1	1	1	0	0	0	11	4.0
No Information	1	0	0	4	2	5	2	1	2	0	17	6.2
TOTAL	9	15	8	58	69	45	27	23	20	0	274	100.0%

In general, CEC professional staff members reside outside the communities where they are employed, while non-professionals reside in the communities. (See Tables 4 and 5)

TABLE 4

Responses of CEC Professional Staff to the Question: Are you a Resident of the School District?

Responses	Districts										Totals	
	4	7	12	13	14	16	19	28	32	33	N	%
Yes	4	2	1	1	2	3	2	22	0	1	38	19
No	7	6	33	9	32	28	18	19	5	8	165	80
No Information or Not Applicable	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	2	1
TOTAL	11	8	34	10	34	31	20	42	5	10	205	100.0%

TABLE 5

Responses of CEC Non-professional Staff to the Question: Are you a Resident of the School District?

Responses	Districts										Totals	
	4	7	12	13	14	16	19	28	32	33	N	%
Yes	6	12	5	46	61	31	21	17	16	0	215	79
No	3	3	3	10	7	13	2	6	2	0	49	18
No Information or Not Applicable	0	0	0	2	1	1	4	0	2	0	10	3
TOTAL	9	15	8	58	69	45	27	23	20	0	274	100.0%

CEC personnel (professional and non-professional) are predominantly female and cover a wide range of age groups. 77.6% are 45 or under. 54.7% are 35 or below. The professionals are a relatively youthful group.

Among the non-professional staff, the age groups are similar to the professional group. 85% of the non-professionals are 45 or under. 58.4% are 35 or below. Thus the non-professionals are an even more youthful group than the professionals. (See Tables 6 and 7)

TABLE 6

Distribution of Age Groups Among CEC Professional Staff

Age Groups	Districts										Totals	
	4	7	12	13	14	16	19	28	32	33	N	%
15–20	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	1.5
21–25	1	3	11	3	4	7	1	5	1	2	38	18.5
26–30	4	1	9	2	8	9	1	8	2	1	45	22.0
31–35	1	0	2	2	5	6	4	3	1	2	26	12.7
36–40	2	0	5	2	5	3	1	2	1	2	23	11.2
41–45	2	0	3	0	0	2	5	10	0	2	24	11.7
46–50	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	6	0	1	11	5.4
51–55	0	0	2	0	0	0	3	2	0	0	7	3.4
56–60	1	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	4	2.0
Over 60	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	2	1.0
No Information	0	2	1	0	11	1	2	5	0	0	22	10.7
TOTAL	11	8	34	10	34	31	20	42	5	10	205	100.1%

TABLE 7

Distribution of Age Groups Among CEC Non-professional Staff

Age Groups	Districts										Totals	
	4	7	12	13	14	16	19	28	32	33	N	%
15–20	1	2	0	3	9	4	0	5	2	0	26	9.5
21–25	2	3	2	10	8	12	1	2	5	0	45	16.4
26–30	1	5	2	16	5	7	3	3	6	0	48	17.5
31–35	1	2	3	7	14	5	7	2	0	0	41	15.0
36–40	2	1	1	6	6	6	9	5	0	0	36	13.1
41–45	2	1	0	7	16	3	3	2	3	0	37	13.5
46–50	0	0	0	7	5	3	2	2	1	0	20	7.3
51–55	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	3	1.1
56–60	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	4	1.5
Over 60	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	.4
No Info	0	0	0	1	3	3	2	1	3	0	13	4.7
TOTAL	9	15	8	58	69	45	27	23	20	0	274	100.0%

As expected, professionals are college graduates most of whom have graduate training or degrees and certification, whereas the non-professionals have a high school education and many have some college training. (See Tables 8 and 9).

TABLE 8

Distribution of Levels of Educational Attainment Among CEC Professional Staff*

Levels of Educational Attainment	Districts										Totals	
	4	7	12	13	14	16	19	28	32	33	N	%
Grade 0–8	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Grade 9–10	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Grade 11–12	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	4	2.0
High School Graduate	1	0	2	0	0	0	1	4	1	0	9	4.4
One Year College	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	2	1.0
Two Years College	1	0	3	0	0	0	2	2	0	0	8	3.9
Three Years College	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	2	1.0
Four Years College	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	4	2.0
Associate Degree	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	4	2.0
Bachelors Degree	0	2	11	1	2	7	2	5	1	1	32	15.6
Masters Credits	2	1	7	3	14	8	3	6	1	1	46	22.4
Masters Degree	0	1	2	5	10	9	4	15	1	2	49	23.9
Doctoral Credits	3	1	5	0	4	5	6	7	0	2	33	16.1
Doctorate	2	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	1	6	2.9
Other	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	4	2.0
No Info.	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1.0
TOTAL	11	8	34	10	34	31	20	42	5	10	205	100.2%

*NOTE: Professional category includes technicians.

TABLE 9

Distribution of Levels of Educational Attainment Among CEC Non-professional Staff

Levels of Educational Attainment	Districts										Totals	
	4	7	12	13	14	16	19	28	32	33	N	%
Grade 0–8	0	0	0	2	4	0	0	0	0		6	2.2
Grade 9–10	0	0	0	0	11	0	0	0	2		13	4.8
Grade 11–12	1	1	0	14	13	0	0	8	3		40	14.7
High School Graduate	5	12	4	20	30	24	22	6	8		131	48.0
One Year College	0	0	1	7	1	7	1	1	4		22	8.0
Two Years College	2	1	1	11	2	3	2	3	1		26	9.5
Three Years College	1	0	0	0	2	1	1	0	0		5	1.8
Four Years College	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1		1	.4
Associate Degree	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	2	0		4	1.5
Bachelors Degree	0	0	1	0	1	3	0	0	0		5	1.8
Masters Credits	0	0	1	1	2	3	0	0	0		7	2.6
Masters Degree	0	0	0	0	2	3	0	1	0		6	2.2
Doctoral Credits	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0		2	.7
Doctorate	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		0	
Other	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0		1	.4
No Info.	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	1		4	1.5
TOTAL	9	15	8	56	70	45	27	23	20		273	100.1%

The professionals have significantly more years of experience working with minority groups than do the non-professionals since most of the professionals made careers in the school system. 61.5% of the professionals claim more than 5 years of similar work experience, while 61.8% of the non-professionals report less than 5 years of comparable work. (See Tables 10 and 11)

TABLE 10

Number of Years CEC Professional Staff Have Worked With Minority Groups

Years of Experience Categories	Districts										Totals	
	4	7	12	13	14	16	19	28	32	33	N	%
None	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	3	1.5
Less than One Year	0	0	5	0	0	2	0	1	0	0	8	3.9
1–2 Years	1	1	3	0	2	3	1	5	2	0	18	8.8
2–3 Years	0	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	1	0	15	7.3
3–4 Years	0	0	3	1	0	0	0	4	0	0	8	3.9
4–5 Years	1	1	5	2	0	3	2	4	0	0	18	8.8
Over 5 Years	8	3	14	5	28	19	16	25	1	7	126	61.5
No Information	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	2	9	4.4
TOTAL	11	8	34	10	34	31	20	42	5	10	205	100.1%

TABLE 11

Number of Years CEC Non-professional Staff Have Worked With Minority Groups

Years of Experience Categories	Districts										Totals	
	4	7	12	13	14	16	19	28	32	33	N	%
None	2	2	0	1	5	5	0	3	2		20	7.4
Less than 1 Year	1	1	3	11	19	6	3	2	2		48	17.5
1–2 Years	1	1	0	9	19	9	7	1	3		50	18.2
2–3 Years	0	1	2	0	4	4	3	2	4		28	10.2
3–4 Years	1	1	2	6	2	3	4	1	2		22	8.0
4–5 Years	1	0	1	5	2	3	2	2	2		18	6.6
Over 5 Years	3	7	8	9	18	13	6	10	3		63	23.0
No Information	0	2	0	0	4	2	4	2	2		25	9.1
TOTAL	9	15	8	30	69	45	27	23	20		274	100.0%

D. Recruitment and Selection

With the understanding that approaches to hiring personnel for CEC's vary between Districts, a typical model of the process can be drawn. Due to Central Board policy and UFT and CSA Contracts which provide the basic constraints, regularly licensed teachers and supervisors are hired to fill professional positions. Persons with certain needed skills, not possessing a Board of Education license, may be nominated to take a Certificate of Competency examination conducted by the Board of Examiners. This examination consists of a review of record and an oral interview. The District Superintendent usually hires the Center Director and his two key staff assistants, with the approval of the local board.

The remainder of the hiring process is best characterized by the following practice:

1. Project Coordinators are screened by the Director, District Superintendent and Advisory Committee with the Director's choice being confirmed by the Superintendent.
2. Professionals for projects are screened and interviewed by the Project Coordinators with the involvement of the building principals whose facilities are to be used. (It is not unusual for the Principal to be the Coordinator for a program within his school.)
3. Principals hire almost all non-professionals to be employed in projects in their schools.
4. The Advisory Committee at times refer, screen, and endorse candidates, but do no hiring.
5. Since the Center Director is primarily responsible for staff, he normally confirms all selections before processing them to the District Superintendent's office for a final review. The Selection of candidates by the Project Coordinator and Principals is normally approved and thus for practical purposes is final.
6. Most staff learn of openings through personal contacts (friends, relatives or others), rather than any official notices or public media. District 7 where radio announcements were effective, is an exception. (See Tables 12 and 13.)

TABLE 12

Announcement Sources by Which CEC Professional Staff Were Recruited

Announcement Sources	Districts										Totals	
	4	7	12	13	14	16	19	28	32	33	N	%
P.T.A.	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	5	0	0	10	4.2
Flyers	0	1	0	0	7	2	1	4	1	0	16	6.7
Friends or Relatives	2	21	7	6	9	6	3	19	4	16	93	39.1
Newspaper	0	0	2	0	1	0	0	6	0	0	9	3.8
Radio	0	22	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	24	10.1
Television	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	.4
Community Meetings	3	0	0	1	0	2	1	2	0	2	11	4.6
Other	8	1	15	1	9	14	15	5	0	6	74	31.1
Totals for each district	15	46	25	9	26	24	21	43	5	24	238	100.0%

TABLE 13

Announcement Sources by Which CEC Non-professional Staff Were Recruited

Announcement Sources	Districts										Totals	
	4	7	12	13	14	16	19	28	32	33	N	%
P.T.A.	0	3	0	6	4	0	2	0	2	0	17	8.3
Flyers	1	1	0	2	1	0	1	0	3	0	9	4.4
Friends or Relatives	5	4	3	22	13	1	11	2	15	10	86	41.7
Radio	0	1	4	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	7	3.4
Television	0	1	4	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	6	2.9
Community Meetings	1	1	1	3	2	0	3	0	4	4	19	9.2
Other	3	5	2	13	10	4	10	4	3	4	62	30.1
Totals for each district	10	16	14	46	30	5	28	6	29	18	206	100.0%

E. Orientation and Training

Project staff normally receive adequate job orientation as to specific tasks and expectations but orientation about the CEC as an operation - what it is, what it does and how it relates to their project - is seriously inadequate. Most staff, professionals and non-professionals, receive little or no orientation about the overall CEC operation during the hiring process or training periods. There is a lack of printed materials about CEC. The paraprofessionals, particularly those hired by principals and working under a school professional within a school facility are especially confused. Most do not even know they are employed by the CEC, but rather think of themselves as being responsible to the school system.

Some training is provided the majority of project staff. Pre-service training tends to reach most of the staff, but in-service on a continued, regular basis reaches much fewer. (See Tables 14 and 15). By far, most training is concentrated on the non-professionals. Many projects have designed in-service training as a regular part of the project activities. However, the staff generally expressed a felt need for improved orientation and training program.

TABLE 14

Responses of CEC Professional Staff to the Question: Is There a Training Program for Your Job?

Responses	Districts										Totals	
	4	7	12	13	14	16	19	28	32	33	N	%
Yes	3	0	17	3	13	6	9	11	2	5	69	31.9
No	5	19	10	2	11	16	11	17	2	13	106	49.1
No Information or Not Applicable	4	9	1	2	4	4	4	5	2	6	41	19.0
TOTAL	12	28	28	7	28	26	24	33	6	24	216	100.0%

TABLE 15

Responses of CEC Non-professional Staff to the Question: Is There a Training Program for Your Job?

Responses	Districts										Totals	
	4	7	12	13	14	16	19	28	32	33	N	%
Yes	1	6	2	40	14	3	22	0	15	5	108	55.7
No	4	3	2	8	18	1	5	2	9	9	61	31.4
No Information or Not Applicable	4	2	1	5	2	1	1	5	0	4	25	12.9
TOTAL	9	11	5	53	34	5	28	7	24	18	194	100.0%

F. Monitoring

Monitoring projects remains the primary responsibility of Project Coordinators and their assistants, since they are in close contact with staff and daily operations. In addition, they are the key link and chief source of information to the Center staff; most Coordinators stop in and report weekly to the Center. This is one apparent reason for the paucity of written, formal reports. Since the CEC operation is new, the central staff is burdened with many administrative details, and does not have much time for visiting projects.

Monitoring time for the central staff is consumed in large part by seeing that mandated procedures are carried out, in particular, payroll requisitions and expenditures, especially imprest funds. Memorandums and directives are occasionally issued to project staff to clarify and report changes in procedures. Generally these are few in number; much communication occurs over the phone.

Written reports are more frequent at the project level for monitoring activity and progress of staff: Daily Log, Weekly Work Schedule, Bi-Weekly and Quarterly Progress Reports, and so on. A number of these reach the Center in summarized form.

There is informal feedback from the following project observers:

1. District Superintendent visiting schools
2. Principals of buildings where projects are located
3. Title I and Urban Education staff

4. Advisory Committee members who are interested in a particular project or are project participants
5. Consultants

Formal evaluation of staff and projects has not been developed fully in most districts. Written reports and formal evaluations remain at a minimum. Monitoring and evaluation rely primarily on frequent, informal interaction and verbal communication that occurs between central staff and project staff.

III. Funding

The procedures in establishing projects involve a series of steps culminating with an authorization of funding for approved projects. The authorization restricts expenditures to the approved line item sums within each project as well as the total budget for each project.

A. Proposal

All proposals contain a statement of objectives, identify a target population and describe the project design. A *line item* budget estimate is required with each proposal.

B. Approval

Each project is reviewed from two points of view: (1) educational value (2) fiscal soundness and appropriateness. Both criteria must be met before approval is given.

The preparation of proposals and subsequent action on approval appear to have involved approximately five months in the first full year of CEC operation: 1969-1970. Most programs were not funded until October, 1969 and some even later. All funding is limited to one year and unused funds may not be spent for the next fiscal year.

C. Financial Management

All expenditures are certified by the CEC Director with the approval of the District Superintendent. Functionally the Director is the person who approves purchases, requisitions, verifies payrolls and certifies payments for goods and services. It is his responsibility to monitor the commitments made and to see that encumbrances are within budget allocations. Official financial records are maintained at the Central Office of the Board. These supercede "internal" records maintained at CEC offices.

D. Accounting

Each CEC Director has appointed a fiscal officer to develop systems of accounting and purchasing procedures. The sophistication of accounting procedures varies in each center. A few place monitoring responsibility with the coordinators of each project. More often the Fiscal Officer has centralized this function at CEC administrative offices. The trend is in this direction.

E. Modifications

All changes in allocations require a modification of budget approval. This is true for changes affecting the total allocation for a project and those which might be termed "transfers" within a project budget, e.g., a transfer of funds from supplies to equipment which does not involve an increase in total allocation. Budget proposals are only estimates made in advance of establishing programs. Modifications in these estimates should not be viewed negatively, or in any sense as a measure of poor planning.

F. Imprest Fund

For the most part actual purchases and payments are made through and by the Board of Education's central business office at 110 Livingston Street. An Imprest Fund (petty cash) is maintained at CEC offices. It is limited to a total of $5,000 but no single purchase or payment may exceed $50.

None of the CEC directors reported any knowledge of the type and nature of the audits of their general accounts or of the Imprest Funds. If CEC directors were given access to audit procedures, criteria, findings, and conclusions, they could better judge the effectiveness of their present practices and prepare for needed future changes.

G. Distribution of CEC Program Budget

Table 16 represents the distribution of $17,702,969 among 10 CEC Districts. Perhaps it is noteworthy that Districts 12, 32, and 33 (3 of the 4 original CEC Districts in New York City) have received more funds than any other Districts. An additional $1,720,000 (8% of $21,500,000) went for evaluation and overhead.

TABLE 16

Distribution of CEC Budget in New York City During 1969–1970*

District	Distribution Pattern	Totals	
		Amounts	Percent
4		$ 1,249,323	7.1
7		1,129,228	6.4
12		2,984,131	16.9
13		1,224,497	6.9
14		1,171,965	6.6
16		1,379,624	7.8
19		1,108,758	6.3
28		1,459,918	8.2
32		3,727,127	21.1
33		2,268,398	12.8
Millions of dollars	1 2 3 4 5	$17,702,969	100

*Figures obtained from *State Urban Education, CEC, Program Summaries*, published by New York City Board of Education and based on 101 projects.

Table 17 indicates the distribution of CEC funds within each District by program area. Both dollar amounts and percentages of District budgets are shown. The 101 projects which are evaluated have been classified into thirteen program areas according to their stated or latent objectives. It must be pointed out that these program categories differ from those utilized in the official *Community Education Center Program Summaries* published by the Division of Funded Programs, Office of Urban Education, New York City Board of Education. For example, teacher training, programs for educational assistants and programs for library assistants are all considered as Training of Staff in this report. Basic skills, reading programs and homework and tutorial programs are all included in the Basic Skills category. Cultural Awareness includes field trips as well as ethnic studies. The exact definitions of the thirteen categories are as follows:

1. **Artistic Skills**: A program involving instruction in music, art, drama, dance, poetry, and literature.
2. **Health and Drugs**: Programs providing combinations of education, diagnostic physical examinations, and referral services for medical or narcotic problems.
3. **Training of Staff**: Programs to upgrade teacher skills and to train paraprofessionals in various education-related roles.
4. **Early Childhood**: Projects providing health, social, or child services for pre-school children as well as educational programs and experiences of a pre-kindergarten nature.
5. **Communication and Media**: Projects involving newspapers, journalistic training, television, audio-visual aids, and films.
6. **Bilingual**: Educational programs for non-English (or minimal English) speaking community members and students.
7. **Basic Skills**: Programs for students to upgrade or provide remedial help in language arts, mathematics, and other basic school subjects.
8. **Cultural Awareness**: Projects aimed at increasing students' awareness of their own cultural and historical heritage and/or broadening their knowledge of their cultural environment both inside and outside the community.
9. **Attitudes and Values**: Programs involving activities aimed primarily at changing the attitudes and values which govern aspirational levels, self-image, and academic and vocational goals.
10. **Guidance and Counseling**: Projects which involve guidance and counseling for academic, vocational, social, or other problems confronting students and the community including referral to other agencies and services.
11. **Adult Basic Education**: Programs for adults who are out of school or who have not finished their schooling, offering pre-high school, high school equivalency, and English classes as well as training for specific vocations and for civil service exams.
12. **Community Involvement and Education**: Programs to encourage parental and community population to participate in education and community affairs, as well as provide instruction in academic or practical affairs having no immediate vocational goal.

13. **Administration**: Activities and management procedures conducted at the Central CEC Headquarters.

For purposes of evaluation it was necessary to give each project one major classification. In many cases it was realized that the project had a broad variety of objectives and could easily be considered in more than one category. Some were given secondary classifications and were examined by more than one specialist. The list of primary classifications for each project which was the basis for Table 17, is as follows:

ADMINISTRATION

19-04427	Central Administration
19-07433	Central Administration
19-12425	Central Administration
19-13421	Central Administration
19-14423	Central Administration
19-16422	Central Administration
19-19422	Central Administration
19-28421	Central Administration
19-32431	Central Administration
19-33425	Central Administration

ARTISTIC SKILLS

19-07436	Arts in the Bronx (ABC)
19-07437	South Bronx Community Action Theatre (SBCAT)
19-07439	Youth Services
19-28427	The Performing Arts Workshop of South Jamaica

ADULT BASIC (VOCATIONAL) EDUCATION

19-12426	High School Equivalency and Drop-out Prevention Program
19-13429	Adult Community Education Center
19-14428	Adult Education
19-28422	Initial Career Preparation for Trucking Industry
19-32422	Adult Education

ATTITUDES AND VALUES

19-13430	Interim School for Suspended Pupils
19-16426	Apperceptive Training for Inner City Children
19-28425	South Jamaica Improvement and Academic Centers
19-32429	Push-Out Program
19-32433	Practical Business
19-33421	Adult Bound

BASIC SKILLS

19-04430	Skills Station Reading Program
19-07441	High School Preparation
19-07422	Community Learning Centers
19-12429	Cluster Class J. 136
19-12431	Experimental Upper Grade Program on P-34X
19-12438	Innovations in Reading as A Thinking Process
19-13423	Reading Diagnostic Center
19-13424	School Tutorial Program
19-14425	Homework Helper Program
19-19421	Responsive Environment Program
19-19423	John F. Kennedy Supplementary Educational Centers
19-19425	Operation Reading Success
19-28423	Diagnosis and Special Instruction in Reading
19-32423	At Home Reading Program
19-32424	After School Tutorial Program
19-32425	Community Based Homework Study
19-33433	Learning Centers

BILINGUAL

19-04425	Pilot Bilingual Program
19-04431	Bilingual Newspaper
19-07440	A Comprehensive Research Project of the Experimental Bilingual Elementary School P. S. 25
19-12432	Supportive Services for Bilingual School
19-13422	Bilingual Program
19-14424	Language Helper Program
19-33423	Bilingual Program

COMMUNICATIONS AND MEDIA

19-07435	Photography Club
19-12436	Community Education Multi-Faceted Information Center
19-14430	Multi-Media Project
19-28429	Development of Written Communication Skills
19-32434	Multi-Media Communications Center-Component I - Closed Circuit T.V.
19-32436	Multi-Media Communications Center-Component III - Newspaper/ Photography Unit
19-33427	KWELI - A Community News Program
19-33424	Multi-Media

COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT AND EDUCATION

19-07438	School Parent Center
19-12440	Community Study Center and Library
19-14427	Home
19-14429	Expanding into the Community
19-33431	Curriculum Development Center

CULTURAL AWARENESS

19-04423	El Museo del Barrio
19-07434	South Bronx Multipurpose Supplementary Education Center
19-12433	African, Afro-American, Hispanic, and Puerto Rican History Program
19-13428	Classroom on Wheels
19-16425	Saturday Trip Program
19-16429	African-American and Hispanic Program
19-28428	Community Project in Black History and Culture
19-32435	Multi-Media Communications Center - Component II Afro-American and Latin Studies
19-33430	Afro-American History and Hispanic Culture

EARLY CHILDHOOD

19-12437	Pre-School Program
19-14431	Pre-School Center for Three Year Olds
19-32421	Child Development Program
19-32426	Family Education Day Care Center
19-32428	Day Care Extension
19-33432	Extended Program for Pre-Schoolers
19-33434	East Harlem Triangle Children's Center

GUIDANCE AND COUNSELING

19-06421	College Opportunity Development Program
19-13425	Enriching Group Counseling
19-13426	Guidance Assistants
19-14426	Operation Reclaim
19-19424	Project Excellence
19-26426	Guidance Reinforcement and Career Guidance
19-32427	Classroom Adjustment
19-32430	Family-Pupil Guidance Service Center
19-32432	Career Guidance
19-33429	Community School Referral Center

HEALTH AND DRUGS

19-08428	Project Health Expansion
19-08429	Project Save Addicted Student Population
19-12427	Drug Prevention Program
19-26430	Multi-School Personnel Services

TRAINING OF STAFF

19-12435	Multi-Media Communications Center
19-12439	Paraprofessional Program
19-13427	School-Community Program to Improve Attendance
19-19432	Guided Self Analysis
19-19433	Teacher Training through Use of Guided Self Analysis Using Video Tape
19-19435	In-Service Training for Supportive Library Staff
19-19439	Educational Assistants - Grade 3
19-33433	In-Service Teacher Training
19-33439	Training Program CEC Advisory Board

For purposes of the following discussion, Administration is not considered a program area, since all districts have Administrative projects. Thus there are only twelve program areas.

In Table 17, it can be noted that District 33 and District 12 had programs encompassing 9 of the 12 program areas. District 19, on the other hand, chose to concentrate its funds in only 2 areas, and District 16 utilized only 3 areas.

Reading across program areas rather than down districts, it can be noted that District 4 allocated over a quarter of its budget to Health and Drug programs, while Districts 7, 13, 14, 16, 19, 32 and 33 had no projects in which health and drugs were the principal program area. Also it can be noted that Districts 4, 13 and 19 spent over 30% of their respective budgets on Guidance and Counseling, while other districts put no emphasis at all on this category.

TABLE 17

Distribution of Each District's C.E.C. Funds by Program Area (based on 101 projects)

Program Areas	Districts									
	4		7		12		13		14	
Administration	8.9%	$109,164	12.9%	$146,094	7.4%	$222,141	8.4%	$102,775	10.1%	$118,027
Adult Education					6.3%	188,816	4.2%	51,647	2.4%	27,713
Artistic Skills			42.2%	476,018						
Attitudes/Values							7.2%	88,361		
Basic Skills	8.2%	102,770	11.9%	133,935	19%	568,001	19.4%	237,166	33.1%	387,865
Bilingual	17.2%	214,487	3.8%	42,887	10.2%	304,208	15.8%	193,379	33.8%	396,471
Communications/Media			2%	23,001	5.5%	163,030			10.2%	119,106
Community Involvement			4.8%	53,962	3.5%	104,588			.9%	10,921
Cultural Awareness	7.1%	88,570	22.4%	253,331	1.1%	32,561	1%	11,825		
Early Childhood					19%	568,380			5.2%	60,476
Guidance/Counseling	32.2%	402,557					44%	539,344	1.3%	15,492
Health/Drugs	26.6%	331,775			.9%	26,805				
Training of Staff					27%	805,601			3.1%	35,894
Percentages	10 50 90		10 50 90		10 50 90		10 50 90		10 50 90	
Budgeted Amounts of District	$1,249,323		$1,129,228		$2,984,131		$1,224,497		$1,171,965	
Number of Program Categories	5		6		9		6		8	

*Figures obtained from *State Urban Education Community Education Centers Program Summaries* published by New York City Board of Education

TABLE 17

Distribution of Each District's C.E.C. Funds by Program Area (continued)
(based on 101 projects)

Program Areas	Districts									
	18		19		28		32		33	
Administration	11%	$152,379	10.6%	$117,504	9.4%	$136,759	9.4%	$351,379	11.1%	$250,960
Adult Education					17.3%	252,293	8.7%	323,860		
Artistic Skills					9.8%	143,544				
Attitudes/Values	3.2%	44,550			10.1%	147,635	11.2%	418,135	9.5%	215,342
Basic Skills			51.4%	569,860	15.5%	226,613	13.6%	505,540	8.8%	198,981
Bilingual									5.6%	126,571
Communications/Media					4.5%	72,763	15%	552,721	19.2%	436,958
Community Involvement									5.7%	129,018
Cultural Awareness	33.2%	458,264			5.1%	74,042	3.6%	132,769	12.6%	286,458
Early Childhood							15.1%	563,577	11.5%	261,136
Guidance/Counseling			38%	421,394	14.2%	207,239	23.6%	879,148	5%	112,571
Health/Drugs					13.6%	198,830				
Training of Staff	52.5%	724,431							11%	250,403
Percentages	10 50 90		10 50 90		10 50 90		10 50 90		10 50 90	
Budgeted Amount of District	$1,379,624		$1,108,758		$1,459,718		$3,727,127		$2,268,398	
Number of Program Categories	3		2		8		7		9	

H. Distribution of Dollars and Emphasis by Program Area

Table 18 reports the distribution of projects by program area, and by Districts.

TABLE 18

Distribution of Projects by Program Area and Districts

Program Areas	Districts										Totals	
	4	7	12	13	14	16	19	28	32	33	Percent	N
Administration	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	9.90	10
Artistic Skills		3						1			3.96	4
Adult Education (Vocational)			1	1	1			1	1		4.95	5
Attitudes & Values				1		1		1	2	1	5.94	6
Basic Skills	1	2	3	2	1		3	1	3	1	16.83	17
Bilingual	2	1	1	1	1					1	6.93	7
Communications & Media		1	1		1			1	2	2	7.92	8
Community Involvement and Education		1	1		2					1	4.95	5
Cultural Awareness	1	1	1	1		2		1	1	1	8.91	9
Early Childhood			1		1				3	2	6.93	7
Guidance & Counceling	1			3	1		1	1	3	1	10.89	11
Health & Drugs	2		1					1			3.96	4
Training of Staff			2		1	3				2	7.93	8
TOTAL	8	10	13	10	10	7	5	9	16	13	100%	101

In Table 19 a comparison of program area emphasis to program area dollars is made. It demonstrates the percentage of CEC projects throughout the city which fall in each of thirteen program categories. For example, 16.8% of all CEC programs (the highest percentage) deals with Basic Skills. Only 4.0% (the lowest percentage) deals with Health and Drugs. Artistic Skills also accounts for only 4.0% of the total number of programs. The chart compares these figures to the percentage of the city-wide CEC budget allotted to each category, also showing the actual dollar amounts. Again Basic Skills programs have the highest percentage: 16.6% of the total budget. This dollar percentage closely reflects the emphasis placed on Basic Skills (16.8%). As seen on the bar graph, most dollar percentages fall close to the percentage of emphasis placed on each category. The exceptions are: Community Involvement, which accounts for 5.0% of all projects, but receives only 1.7% of the total budget; Guidance and Counseling, which represents only 10.9% of the total number of programs but accounts for 14.6% of the budget; and Training of Staff which includes only 7.9% of all programs, but spends 10.3% of the total budget.

TABLE 19

Distribution of Dollars and Emphasis by Program Area

Program Categories	% (0 2 4 6 8 10 12 14 16 18 20)	% of total number of projects across city which fall in this category	% of total CEC budget across city allotted to this category	Total amount budgeted for this category
ADMINISTRATION		9.9	9.6	1,707,380
ADULT EDUCATION		5.0	4.8	844,329
ARTISTIC SKILLS		4.0	3.5	619,562
ATTITUDES AND VALUES		5.9	5.2	914,023
BASIC SKILLS		16.8	16.6	2,930,731
BILINGUAL		6.9	7.2	1,278,003
COMMUNICATIONS AND MEDIA		7.9	7.7	1,367,579
COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT		5.0	1.7	298,489
CULTURAL AWARENESS		8.9	7.6	1,337,820
EARLY CHILDHOOD		6.9	8.2	1,453,569
GUIDANCE AND COUNSELING		10.9	14.6	2,577,745
HEALTH AND DRUGS		4.0	3.1	557,410
TRAINING OF STAFF		7.9	10.3	1,816,329
Percentages	0 2 4 6 8 10 12 14 16 18 20 %	100.0	100.0	17,702,969

■ % of budget allotted to category

□ % of the number of projects within that category

I. Distribution of Funds within Projects

In Table 20, the amount and percentage of the budget allotted by category within projects in each district is shown. It is interesting to note that more than half (51%) of the funds are used to cover Staff Costs. When Contracted Services (mostly for Consultants) are added to Staff Costs, the percentage of the budget allotted to instructional (or related) personnel costs rises to 58%. The administrative costs represent 15 percent of the total budget. The remaining 27% of the budget is assigned to Facilities (3%), Equipment and Materials (8%), Miscellaneous (11%), and Not Specified (5%). In terms of the percentage of the budget allotted to certain categories of the projects, the general effectiveness of the CEC is very much dependent on the administration of and the quality of the staff employed.

TABLE 20

Distribution of Funds by Category Within Projects*

Districts	Amount and Percentage of Budget Allottment by Category																			
	Administration		Equipment & Materials		Staff Costs						Facilities		Contracted Services		Miscellaneous		Not Specified		Totals For Submitted Budget	
					Professionals		Para-professionals		Benefits											
	Amount	%	Amount	%	Amount	%	Amount	%	Amount	%	Amount	%	Amount	%	Amount	%	Amount	%	Amount	%
4	163,371	13	93,396	7	372,506	29	215,094	17	95,437	7	55,000	4	102,345	8	135,636	10	61,565	5	1,294,323	7
7	86,366	9	107,667	12	318,175	35	202,310	22	42,177	5			90,387	10	18,833	2	43,299	5	909,214	5
12	516,332	15	267,401	7	567,275	16	762,746	21	298,114	8	366,150	10	292,015	8	324,867	9	217,675	6	3,612,575	18
13	191,263	15	27,027	2	196,367	16	488,330	38	132,926	10			95,385	8	78,119	6	60,480	5	1,269,897	7
14	125,427	10	93,843	8	244,912	20	400,888	33	88,247	7	3,750	Frac.	136,375	11	80,152	6	58,622	5	1,232,216	6
16	110,927	8	61,955	4	316,654	22	409,281	28	132,388	9			138,952	10	202,400	14	80,757	5	1,453,314	7
19	127,607	9	61,182	4	530,761	40	189,896	14	139,067	10			113,269	8	114,372	9	74,719	6	1,350,873	7
28	198,464	13	37,749	2	528,056	35	234,170	16	118,901	8	8,100	1	68,388	5	216,700	15	80,310	5	1,490,838	8
32	828,747	18	414,573	9	718,339	16	1,056,796	23	482,730	11	27,960	1	331,011	7	458,873	10	241,328	5	4,560,357	23
33	552,943	23	321,561	13	245,393	10	321,305	13	138,318	6	97,700	4	96,511	4	506,390	21	143,566	6	2,423,687	12
Amount	2,901,447		1,486,354		4,038,438		4,280,816		1,668,305		558,660		1,464,638		2,136,342		1,062,321		19,597,294	
%	15		8		21		22		8		3		7		11		5			

*Budget information taken from project proposals.

Participants

The CEC program serves 122,032 participants (See Table 21) across all age groups. In many instances, projects in the same district indicate the same age at the lower end and different ages at the upper end of the suggested range. In constructing Table 20 we put all the participants with the same beginning age level in the same age level category. When the upper limit of a beginning age range was unspecified, a separate category is indicated.

If you consider the age range 6-19, as an inclusive category, it serves a minimum of 57,255 (46.9%) participants. The next highest category levels serve 20,952 (17.2%) and 15,255 (12.5%) participants, respectively. Due to the lack of consistency in categorizing the age levels of the participants served across projects, it is difficult to determine the exact number of participants served at any given age level. In general, however, about 75 percent of all participants served by the CEC program are 18 or below.

The projects in District 16 serve the largest percentage (41.5%) of participants while projects in District 13 serve the smallest percentage (0.9%). The projects in Districts 32 (16.5%), 4 (15.4%), and (12.3%) serve the next highest percentage of participants. Of the six projects which serve less than ten percent of the participants each, the combined number of participants served accounted for 14.2 percent of the total.

TABLE 21

Number and Age of Participants by District

Age Level of Participants	Districts										Totals	
	4	7	12	13	14	16	19	28	32	33	N	%
1–12									191		191	0.2
3–5			120		30						150	0.1
4–13									9,000		9,000	7.4
5–21		2,573									2,573	2.1
6–19	120	350	1,860	200	1,560	47,400		740	230		52,460	43.0
6 up								773			773	0.6
7–18	540			150			533		474		1,697	1.4
8–21	17,606	150				3,000		150	52		20,952	17.2
9–16			475		486		135				1,096	.9
9 up									9,500		9,500	7.8
10–40	53	1,540	870	92							2,555	2.1
11–18				72			1,388		150		1,610	1.3
12–17					250			100			350	0.3
13–20		55	1,669			200				100	2,024	1.7
14–19								30	12		42	.0
18 up					140				335		475	0.4
19–26								13			13	.0
20 up				29							29	.0
21 up			61	605	91					500	1,257	1.0
26–32					30						30	.0
All ages	539	106							150	14,460	15,252	12.5
TOTAL	18,852	4,774	5,055	1,148	2,587	50,600	2,056	1,806	20,094	15,060	122,032	
%	15.4	3.9	4.1	0.9	2.1	41.5	1.7	1.5	16.5	12.3		

Facilities

The majority of CEC projects are housed in existing school facilities. The primary considerations in determining which facilities are used and their precise locations follow:

1. Programs which ran concurrently with regular school programs and involved the same children were invariably accommodated in the schools the children attended. No other alternative could be feasibly considered.
2. School facilities could be acquired at no expense and with a minimum of delay. Some programs may have suffered somewhat from a decision to locate in a school, rather than an especially designed facility. Others were not geographically well located in the community.
3. The decision to rent facilities was reluctantly made. Usually the programs that did so required special facilities not found in schools. In some cases there was simply no space available in schools or buildings owned by the Board of Education.
4. Administrative offices were given low priority. Typically CEC administrative and supporting personnel were given an address but very little space. District 28 and District 12 are notable exceptions.

The CEC's which were more generously funded and conducted more programs differed in their approach to acquiring space. With 15 to 18 programs to accommodate it was clear that outside facilities would be needed. Even though some programs were delayed initially as local storefronts were renovated to house them, the final result was that Districts with storefront operations had a wider geographical distribution of programs.

Table 22 offers some value judgments on the quality of facilities. The comments were elicited from project coordinators in all ten districts. It is noted that two out of three project coordinators rated their offices and their storage space as poor or merely adequate. 51% of those having reproduction rooms found them to be good or very good, 61% gave their activity rooms the same favorable rating, and 66% felt their classroom space was more than adequate.

TABLE 22

Value Judgments of Project Facilities by Project Coordinators

Types of Facilities	Value Classifications								Totals
	Very Good		Good		Adequate		Poor		
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
Office	13	21%	8	13%	25	41%	15	25%	61
Classroom	21	42%	11	22%	12	24%	6	12%	50
Activity Room	14	43%	6	18%	11	33%	2	6%	33
Reproduction Room	10	34%	5	17%	10	35%	4	14%	29
Equipment & Storage Space	12	21%	7	13%	14	25%	23	41%	56
Equipment & Instructional Materials	26	43%	21	35%	5	8%	8	14%	60

Table 23 represents the locations of all projects: whether they operate in schools, other Board of Education facilities (such as district offices), or community locations (in storefronts or in existing community agencies).

When a project operates at more than one site, each site is tallied separately. Thus full representation is given to a project that operates partially in schools and partially in storefronts.

Ninety-four percent of all project sites are located in existing school facilities, even though the Urban Education Guidelines recommended, among several options, the use of storefronts in order to bring the programs to the community and to renovate and utilize vacant buildings in the neighborhood.

TABLE 23

Site Locations by Districts and Projects

District	Projects	Site Locations			Total for Each Dist.
		School	Board of Education Facilities	Community	
4	19–04421		1		
	19–04423		1		
	19–04425	1			
	19–04427	1			
	19–04428			1	
	19–04429		1		
	19–04430		1		
	19–04431		1		
TOTAL		2	5	1	8
7	19–07422	3			
	19–07433		1		
	19–07434	23			
	19–07435	1			
	19–07436	1			
	19–07437	23			
	19–07438	1		1	
	19–07439	1	1		
	19–07441	1			
TOTAL		54	2	1	57
12	19–12425			1	
	19–12426	2		2	
	19–12427	4		1	
	19–12429	1			
	19–12431	1			
	19–12432	1			
	19–12433	17			
	19–12435	3			
	19–12436			1	
	19–12437	1			
	19–12438	17			
	19–12439	17			
	19–12440			1	
TOTAL		64		6	70

TABLE 23

Site Locations by Districts and Projects (continued)

District	Projects	Site Locations			Total for Each Dist.
		School	Board of Education Facilities	Community	
13	19–13421		1		
	19–13422	8			
	19–13423	4			
	19–13424	8			
	19–13425	24	1	1	
	19–13426	24			
	19–13427	24			
	19–13428	1			
	19–13429	4			
	19–13430			1	
TOTAL		97	2	2	101
14	19–14423		1		
	19–14424	25			
	19–14425	30			
	19–14426	1			
	19–14427	1			
	19–14428	1		3	
	19–14429	1			
	19–14430	25			
	19–14431	1			
	19–14432	4			
TOTAL		89	1	3	93
16	19–16422		1		
	19–16423	6			
	19–16424	5			
	19–16425	28			
	19–16426	3			
	19–16428	21			
	19–16429	10			
TOTAL		73	1		74
19	19–19421	8			
	19–19422		1		
	19–19423	6			
	19–19424	2		1	
	19–19425	6			
TOTAL		22	1	1	24

TABLE 23

Site Locations by Districts and Projects (continued)

District	Projects	Site Locations			Total for Each Dist.
		School	Board of Education Facilities	Community	
28	19–28421		1		
	19–28422	2		1	
	19–28423	6			
	19–28425	9			
	19–28426	9			
	19–28427	1			
	19–28428	1			
	19–28429			1	
	19–28430	10			
TOTAL		38	1	2	41
32	19–32421			1	
	19–32422	5		2	
	19–32423			1	
	19–32424	2		1	
	19–32425	4		1	
	19–32426			1	
	19–32427	8		1	
	19–32428	5		1	
	19–32429	2		1	
	19–32430	1		1	
	19–32431		1		
	19–32432	8		1	
	19–32433			1	
	19–32434	2		1	
	19–32435	8		1	
	19–32436	3		1	
TOTAL		48	1	16	65
33	19–33421	2			
	19–33422				
	19–33423		1		
	19–33424	2			
	19–33425		1		
	19–33427		1		
	19–33428		1		
	19–33429		1		
	19–33430		1		
TOTAL		4	6		10
CITY-WIDE TOTALS		491	20	32	543

The CEC and Related Programs

In Table 24, the number and types of related programs that are operative in each C.E.C. district are shown. Across all ten districts, there are 1229 programs being operated by either school or non-school agencies. District 19 and 4 have the largest percentage (19.2% and 17.9%, respectively) of related programs in operation and District 32 has the smallest percentage (4.2%) of such programs. Basic Education and Remediation, Casework and Counseling, Head Start, and Recreation programs account for 50.4 percent of all the related programs offered in the target areas. The remaining 17 program catagories account for 49.6 percent of the program categories with a diverse range of percentages accounted for by individual categories.

It should be noted that many of the C.E.C. projects are duplicates of related programs already offered in the district. Since this is the case, more attention should have been given to problem areas not covered by other programs that were operative in the district. Questions concerning the C.E.C.'s function in coordinating existing programs are raised when one notes the number and types of related programs in operation and the apparent lack of contact with these programs observed by the evaluators. [See Table 24.]

Decision-Making

CEC was structured as a decentralized operation with decisions on program, budgets and personnel taking place within the local district. In practice those individuals or groups normally influencing or making decisions within the district continue to operate within the CEC, but with the addition of the CEC Director and the Advisory Committee.

The District Superintendent usually took the initiative during the establishment of the CEC and was instrumental in planning, budgeting and personnel selection, sometimes seeking confirmation of major decisions from the local school board. Such district groups as Title I personnel, Urban Education Staff, District Principals, UFT, and assorted community agencies shared with the Superintendent in the planning phase.

Once the CEC become operational, the major responsibility was given to the Center Director. He was expected to work closely with the District Superintendent and, in particular, the Title I and Urban Education Directors since many programs

TABLE 24

Number and Types of Related Programs Operative in Each School District*

Program Categories	Districts										Totals	
	4	7	12	13	14	16	19	28	32	33	N	%
Alcoholism	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	11	0	0	11	0.9
Basic Ed. & Remediation	27	10	11	25	10	11	9	9	4	7	123	10.0
Casework & Personal Counseling	23	10	9	30	5	15	13	7	8	11	131	10.7
Child Guidance Clinics	0	1	0	2	0	1	1	1	1	0	7	0.6
Cultural and Special Services	13	11	8	16	8	6	5	6	3	5	81	6.6
Day Care & Nurseries	15	7	3	14	8	7	7	7	3	6	77	6.3
Ed. Counseling	6	5	6	8	1	4	3	1	3	4	41	3.3
Family Planning	9	2	1	4	1	0	2	1	1	5	26	2.1
Group Work	10	6	5	16	8	8	7	1	1	4	66	5.4
Head Start	28	3	15	23	17	18	16	4	4	14	142	11.6
Income Maintenance	3	2	2	12	0	4	1	1	0	1	26	2.1
Job Placement & Vocational Counseling	13	12	13	21	8	11	12	5	8	3	106	8.6
Job Training	7	5	4	3	2	0	2	1	1	2	27	2.2
Legal Aid	4	2	3	4	1	1	4	1	3	1	24	2.0
Narcotics	6	4	4	5	1	2	2	4	2	2	32	2.6
Out-of-Wedlock Parent	3	1	1	3	0	1	2	0	3	0	14	1.1
Psychiatric	3	2	1	1	0	1	1	2	1	3	15	1.2
Recreation	39	12	25	42	23	24	14	22	5	17	223	18.1
Residences	1	0	0	0	2	0	1	0	0	1	5	0.4
Mental Retardation	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Summer Programs	10	5	4	7	6	4	6	5	0	5	52	4.2
Total Number	220	100	115	236	101	118	108	89	51	91	1229	
% of Total Number	17.9	8.1	9.4	19.2	8.2	9.6	8.8	7.2	4.2	7.4		

*Information taken from *Inventory of Youth Services in New York City*.

complement each other. Some programs currently funded under CEC actually were Title I programs last year.

Project Coordinators essentially are free to operate projects within the guidelines established for personnel and fiscal procedures. Principals of schools where projects are located automatically have supervisory authority over the operations and it is not unusual for them to be the Project Coordinator or Assistant Coordinator. As noted earlier, the principal hires all paraprofessionals for projects in his school.

Contrary to the basic concept of CEC and the ideal expressed at the beginning of this chapter, the Advisory Board, in most instances, does not possess decision-making power, but rather advises, endorses and recommends when it does function. Where it attempts to exert controlling influence, it has generally been successfully resisted by the CEC and the District Superintendent. These boards were usually appointed by the District Superintendent with a view to: (1) providing for community representation in planning and operating CEC and (2) being a resource for identifying community needs, reacting to ideas, screening and endorsing candidates, and providing feedback on project operations, but always within an "advisory" capacity. There has been much confusion over the precise role and power of Advisory Boards which has resulted in some bitterness and frustration, and occasionally hampered operations.

Table 25 denotes the community groups represented on each District's CEC Advisory Board. Since District 32 has individual boards for each project, it is not included on this table.

Advisory Board membership reflects a diverse mixture of interest groups within the local district. The dominant groups in order of reported frequencies are the PTA, Community Agencies and Board of Education Personnel (Professionals). If one combines those sub-groups which have a clear, common interest (Board of Education Personnel, PTA, Local School Board, Principals and JFT), it immediately becomes evident that the dominant group represented on the Board is one with some relationship to the educational system.

It appears from these data that the groups most often represented on Advisory Boards are committed to the existing school system.

TABLE 25

Advisory Board Membership

Groups Represented	Districts										Totals	
	4	7	12	13	14[1]	16	19	28[2]	32	33	N	%
PTA	2	10	4	6	3	4		4			33	25.0
UFT				2	1		1				4	3.0
Principals				2	1		2				5	3.8
Legislators		1					2				3	2.3
Model Cities		1				1	1				3	2.3
Title I						1					1	0.8
Comm. Corp.			4		1	3	1	4			13	9.8
Local Sch. Bd.	1		1				2	1			5	3.8
Private Corp.							2				2	1.5
(Para) Bd. of Ed. Personnel				1	5						6	4.5
(Prof) Bd. of Ed. Personnel			5	2	2	2	1	5		1	18	13.6
Comm. Agencies	4	3	2	1	5	2	4	2		3	26	19.7
Welfare Dept.					1						1	0.8
Parents & Students	1	1		1						7	10	7.6
Parochial Schools & Colleges		2									2	1.5
TOTAL	8	18	16	15	19	13	16	16		11	132	

[1] two members not listed; representation unknown
[2] three members not listed; representation unknown

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V

DEMOGRAPHY AND ENVIRONMENT

PURPOSES OF DEMOGRAPHIC STUDY

This chapter is intended to serve as a guide to understanding the social and educational problems that are evident in the ten districts served by the C.E.C. program. The material presented here will also enable the evaluator to judge the effectiveness of planning and selecting projects in terms of the problems that are evident in the target areas. This chapter should also suggest ways in which the processes of locating, describing, and analyzing problems can be tied more closely to program planning and implementation.

In the Regents Statement it was indicated that the C.E.C. program

" . . . will provide a means by which needs of employment, health, recreation, counseling, family services and education, *for all age groups of the community* might be met either through direct aid at the center or by coordinated referral" (p.10).

This task was to be accomplished by developing " . . . a profile of the community's educational needs," (p. 11). It was assumed by the Regent's Statement that a systematic study of each of the target areas' social and education problems would be conducted and used as the basis for planning C.E.C. projects.

According to the C.E.C. report on planning Community Education Centers, the factors given primary consideration were (1) the general socio-economic level of the community and (2) educational needs. The specific conditions defining each factor are indicated below:

1. **Socio-economic Factors.** More than eight million people live in the New York City area. Of these, over a million live in what is currently called "hard core" poverty areas. Neighborhoods are in constant transition. Many of the unemployed and underemployed reside in the decaying central city—this is the target are for the Community Education Center project. The general condition of many residents of these communities is one of poverty, neglect, hardship, frustration, and despair. In the poverty districts, unemployment is twice that of the city's average. As time passes, the number of potential unemployed or underemployed can be expected to increase as the number of unskilled or semi-skilled jobs available in an urbanized and mechanized society decreases.

Despite the constantly rising costs of living, almost one-third of the families in poverty areas have yearly incomes below $3,000. Most of the inner city residents with a family of four earn below $6,000 per year. Because of their apparent lack of employable skills, Black and Puerto Rican men and their families, in particular, suffer from unemployment and poor earning capability. The majority of New York City's welfare recipients reside in inner city areas. In 1968, almost 50% of those receiving public assistance in New York City were between the ages of 5 and 17. Of these recipients, more than 75% reside in poverty or disadvantaged neighborhoods.

2. **Educational Factors.** In considering the educational factors for the purpose of identifying target areas, attention was focused on reading level and dropout statistics. In the ghetto high schools, more than half the students fail to graduate compared to the figure of one-third in the rest of the city. The majority of those who do finish high school receive a general diploma. This diploma is hardly a passport into the world of career development and long term gainful employment. The ten districts ultimately selected as participants in the Community Education Centers project are listed below along with some indication of reading levels.

Districts Selected	Total Pupils Registered Grade 6	Number of Pupils Tested	Number of Pupils Scoring Below 4th Level	Percent of Pupils Scoring Below 4th Level
Ocean Hill Brownsville*	774	675	501	74.2
13	2,409	2,250	1,491	66.3
14	2,561	2,202	1,498	68.0
16	3,521	3,125	2,015	64.5
19	3,398	2,971	1,875	63.1
I.S. 201 East Harlem*	429	399	295	73.9
4	2,056	1,791	1,112	62.1
7	3,170	2,600	1,823	70.1
12*	3,177	2,793	1,783	63.8
28*	3,030	2,797	928	33.2

*Original Centers began planning July 1968
All Statistics are from Results of October 1967 New York State Reading Test

Figure 7. Reading Levels of Target Districts

The specific information concerned with socio-economic factors is very general and refers to the total urban area. The data provided do not indicate specific problems related to each district that might require special attention. It is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to plan projects to counteract particular problems on the basis of this general information alone. It is evident that a more detailed pattern of demographic analysis is required if meaningful alterations in program planning are to be made.

This chapter focuses upon the demographic characteristics of each of the ten Community Education Center (CEC) districts under our concern. Its purpose is to examine, describe, and analyze population characteristics such as ethnic and age composition, and socioeconomic factors such as levels of health and welfare in order to make general and typological statements about each of these separate communities. More specifically, this chapter attempts to type or characterize local community districts in such a way that the evaluator can pose questions with respect to relating programs to needs, needs to persons, and persons to communities. To achieve this end, the salient components of population structure and dynamics will be identified and more subtle components will be derived through statistical manipulation of available data.

PROBLEMS AND METHODS

The task, set forth in terms of its demographic components is an important step in any evaluation study. Consequently, it is also important in proposing and administering any program. The proposal writer, the administrator, and the evaluator should know the characteristic of the population prior to time of entry, at time of entry and exposure to the program, and at time of exit from the program. The proposal writer needs information on population characteristics prior to time of entry in order to relate programs to needs; the administrator needs similar information at time of entry and exposure for the purpose of selection and placement of persons to programs; and the evaluator should have all four types of information if he is going to talk about effect of program or social change.

Moreover, the task is also problematic in that sometimes these data are either not available or are not in the form amenable to effective or innovative proposal writing, administration or evaluation. In the present study it was necessary to superimpose local school districts on official demographic boundaries such as Health

Areas and Census Tracts in order to obtain population data on an area as small as a school district. The data presented in this chapter, which are the most recent data derived in this fashion, are based on Health Area Statistics.

A Health Area was first established in 1930 by a committee composed of the Department of Health, the Welfare Council (Community Council of Greater New York), and the New York Tuberculosis and Health Association as a geographic unit for the collection of data related to public health needs. At first, it was recommended that these areas be composed of 25,000 persons. This criterion was later changed because it was found too restricting and was conducive to unwarranted subdivision of many Health Areas. These areas now can have as many as 35,000 to 40,000 persons. In 1960, New York City had 347 Health Areas.

Another problem in using this data is that Health Area and local school district are not always coterminous. When Health Area did not coincide with local school districts, an adjustment factor, which estimates the proportion of the Health Area within the school district, was applied. In adjusting in this manner, it is assumed that the population is distributed evenly throughout the Health Area. Thus, variation in population density is ignored. Nevertheless, it is the safest assumption to make (knowing it is incorrect) when there is no information on population density in these areas. In fact, any assumption involving density would increase the error. Moreover, this method does not change the ratios between population components (factors). Therefore, the percentage, and not the size or magnitude of the frequency distribution, are the most reliable and meaningful factors concerned. A list of the Health Areas and Adjustment Factors and the Health Area maps on which local school districts are superimposed are appended. (See Volume III)

DESCRIPTION OF DATA

The data on which this chapter is based come primarily from the Youth Services Agency of New York City Human Resources Administration. In turn, the Youth Services Agency collected these data from various other agencies in the City of New York, including the New York City Planning Commission whose 1965 population projection is the population base for the various statistics collected. The data provide a good starting point for the demographic analysis of local school districts. For population structure there is information on ethnic and age compositions (Tables 26,

27, 27.1, 27.2, 27.3, 28, 29). Socioeconomic factors can be represented by these tables in addition to Tables 30, 31, 32. Population dynamic (a process variable) i.e., infant mortality or the rate at which a population group leaves the community or dies is shown in Table 33. Finally, levels of health are reflected in this table as well as Table 34.

Before going into these tables in detail, a few remarks concerning demographic events occuring prior to 1965 may be appropriate. Between the decennial years 1950-60, the population of the City of New York underwent a tremendous change. According to Sheldon and Glazier (Table 26) there was a 47.6 percent gain in the non-White population, a 149.2 percent gain in the Puerto Rican population, and a 12.1 percent loss in the White population.

TABLE 26

Components of Population Change by Color or Ethnic Group: New York City 1950 to 1960

(Numbers in Thousands)

Population Group	Population		Change 1950–1960		Components of Change	
	1960	1950	Number	Per Cent	Natural Increase	Net Migration
All classes	7,782	7,892	–110	–1.4	747	–857
White	6,053	6,890	–837	–12.1	402	–1,239
Nonwhite	1,116	756	360	47.6	188	172
Puerto Rican	613	246	367	149.2	157	210

NOTE: In this table the white and nonwhite population groups exclude persons of Puerto Rican birth or parentage classified in those color groups. Natural increase represents the excess of births over deaths. A negative value for net migration indicates net out-migration.

Source: Table 5 in Sheldon, Eleanor B. and Glazier, Raymond A., *Pupils and Schools in New York City,* New York: Russel Sage Foundation, 1965, p. 108.

This, of course, brought about concomitant changes in the age structure, especially in the age group 20-40 (Table 27) the most active labor force group. Whereas this group comprised 40.7 percent of the population in 1950, it represented only 33.5 percent in 1960–a decrease of 7.2 percent. This group has been declining in size since 1940, but it took its sharpest decline in 1960. However, prior to 1950, much of the change in age distribution could be explained by the reduction in early childhood and old age

mortality rates. The percentage of persons under 5 years and 65 years and over both increased between 1940 and 1950.

Similar changes took place both in the school-age population and in school enrollment. We have adapted Table 27 to show that the school-age group, 5 to 19 years, increased between 1950 and 1960 whereas it had been declining steadily since the beginning of the century. Table 27.1 shows these changes for ethnic groups as well as age. In 1950 Whites constituted 87.3 percent of the total population, non-White 9.6 percent, and Puerto Rican 3.1 percent. These percentages diminished for Whites and increased for non-Whites and Puerto Ricans in 1960. At that time, Whites were 77.8 percent of the total population (a loss of 9.5 percent), non-White 14.3 percent, and Puerto Ricans 7.9 percent (a gain of 4.7 percent and 4.8 percent respectively). These gains and losses were reflected in pre-school and school age population as well. In 1950 Whites of pre-school age made up 84.2 percent of the population but only 66.5 percent in 1960. For non-Whites these figures increased from 11.4 percent in 1950 to 19.9 percent in 1960; and for Puerto Ricans the percentage increased from 4.4 percent to 13.6 percent for the same two years.

For the age group 5 to 19 years these statistics were changing in a similar manner. That is, Whites lost and Nonwhites and Puerto Ricans gained with respect to population size. The recount of gains and losses could continue. However, it is sufficient to say at this point that these changes persisted in school enrollment and on all levels. These figures are shown in Table 27.2 and 27.3.

Taking into consideration the types of persons coming into the city, the in-migrants; the types of persons leaving the city, the out-migrants, and the types remaining; there is a basis for viewing the elements of tremendous social change. Sheldon and Glazier point out that migrants coming into the city, both White and Nonwhite, are younger and better educated than those remaining, and more likely to have come from other urban areas. This is partly supported by the Taeubers' finding that prior to 1950 Nonwhite migrants to northern cities were more often from rural areas whereas after that year they were more often from urban areas. These facts plus the loss of Whites, who tend to have the highest educational attainment levels, suggest some of the problems of community control in New York.

TABLE 27

Percentage Distribution of Population by Selected Age Groups: New York City, 1900 to 1960

Age Group	1960	1950	1940	1930	1920	1910	1900
All Ages	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Under 5 Years	8.8	8.4	5.8	7.7	10.0	10.7	11.6
5 to 9 Years	7.7	6.8	6.3	8.3	9.6	9.2	10.3
10 to 14 Years	7.4	5.6	7.5	8.3	8.8	8.9	8.8
15 to 19 Years	6.2	5.9	8.2	8.7	8.1	9.6	8.8
5 to 19 Years (combined)	21.3	18.3	23.0	25.3	26.5	27.7	27.9
20 to 44 Years	33.5	40.7	44.7	45.9	44.3	45.1	44.6
45 to 64 Years	25.9	24.9	21.9	17.3	16.1	13.7	13.1
65 Years and Over	10.5	7.7	5.6	3.8	3.1	2.8	2.8

SOURCE: Table 4 in Sheldon, Eleanor B. and Glazier, Raymond A., *Pupils and Schools in New York City*, New York: Russel Sage Foundation, 1965, p. 107.

TABLE 27.1

Percentage Distribution of Population in Selected Age Groups by Color or Ethnic Group: New York City, 1950 and 1960

Age Group	1960 All Classes	1960 White	1960 Nonwhite	1960 Puerto Rican	1950 All Classes	1950 White	1950 Nonwhite	1950 Puerto Rican
All Ages	100.0	77.8	14.3	7.9	100.0	87.3	9.6	3.1
Under 5 years	100.0	66.5	19.9	13.6	100.0	84.2	11.4	4.4
5 to 19 years	100.0	72.1	16.4	11.5	100.0	85.4	10.4	4.6
20 to 44 years	100.0	73.4	17.0	9.6	100.0	84.9	11.5	3.6
45 to 64 years	100.0	86.3	10.5	3.2	100.0	91.6	7.0	1.4
65 years and over	100.0	91.8	6.6	1.6	100.0	94.6	4.6	0.8

NOTE: For this table white and nonwhite population in each age group excludes persons of Puerto Rican birth or parentage classified in that color group. Data relating to Puerto Ricans in New York City in 1950, classified by color and age, were obtained directly from published census tabulations. The required estimates for 1960 were derived using the proportion nonwhite among Puerto Ricans in each age-sex group for New York State -Urban. The total Puerto Rican population of New York City accounted for 96.1percent of all Puerto Ricans in urban areas of New York State in 1960, and nonwhite Puerto Ricans residing in the city comprised 95.6 percent of nonwhite Puerto Ricans living in urban areas of the state.

The immigration of non-Whites into the New York City community brought about a tremendous change in terms of social policy, because of the host of problems the nonwhites brought with them. We should be fully cognizant of the fact that, although the non-Whites represent a minority of New York City's total population, in many cases they are the majority of local school districts. With the increasing migration of Blacks to northern urban areas such as New York City, this fact is becoming a natural event.

Tables 28-34 describe the conditions of the ten CEC districts in 1965 and 1967 the most recent dates for which information is available. We summarily show with this data *which is based on 1965 population estimates,* that at that time these districts were marked by social and economic depression, social disorganization and blight. The data, which are estimates, reveal that there were about 1,735,133 persons residing in the ten districts at that time. This figure represents 22.1% of the estimated 1965 New York City population of 7,880,263. However, 39.4% of the juvenile offenses, 49.9% of the

TABLE 27.2

Number, Percentage Distribution, and Changes in Public School Enrollments by Ethnic Group and School Level: New York City, 1957–1958 and 1964–1965

School Level and Ethnic Group	Enrollments 1964–1965 Number	1964–1965 Per Cent	Enrollments 1957–1958 Number	1957–1958 Per Cent	Per Cent Change 1957–1958 / 1964–1965
All Schools–Total	1,037,988	100.0	952,617	100.0	9.0
Negro	283,714	27.3	172,957	18.2	64.0
Puerto Rican	188,588	18.2	128,980	13.5	46.2
Other	565,686	54.5	650,680	68.3	-13.0
Elementary Schools	590,080	100.0	554,419	100.0	6.4
Negro	177,603	30.1	113,744	20.5	56.1
Puerto Rican	122,187	20.7	84,695	15.3	44.3
Other	290,290	49.2	355,980	64.2	-18.5
Junior High Schools	210,758	100.0	169,635	100.0	24.2
Negro	58,942	28.0	32,039	18.9	84.0
Puerto Rican	35,472	18.7	27,270	16.1	44.7
Other	112,344	53.3	110,326	65.0	1.8
Academic High Schools	198,724	100.0	187,282	100.0	6.1
Negro	36,185	18.2	17,450	9.3	107.4
Puerto Rican	17,613	8.9	8,601	4.6	104.8
Other	144,926	72.9	161,231	86.1	-10.1
Vocational High Schools	38,426	100.0	41,281	100.0	-6.9
Negro	10,984	28.6	9,724	23.6	13.0
Puerto Rican	9,316	24.2	8,414	20.4	10.7
Other	18,126	47.2	23,143	56.0	-21.7

NOTE: Data for 1964–1965 refer to January 15, 1965; figures for 1957–1958 refer to registers as of September 30, 1957.

SOURCE: Derived from unpublished tabulations of Special Census of School Population, January 15, 1965, supplied by Board of Education, City of New York; and Board of Education, City of New York, News Bureau Release, N-151-63/64, January 6, 1964. Mimeographed.

ADC/TADC welfare cases, 49.8% of Home Relief cases, 39.2% of the cases of infant mortality and 46.4% of out-of-wedlock births were contained in these districts. Moreover, these areas contained only 13.9% of White population but 42.4% of the non-White population and 46.1% of the Puerto Rican population. The tables reveal also that 46.9% of the persons on financial assistance in 1967 and 41.5% of the financial assistance caseload were located in these areas. Finally, 40.1% of the city's venereal

TABLE 27.3

Percentage Distribution of Public School Enrollments by Ethnic Group, School Level, and Borough: New York City, 1957–1958 and 1964–1965

Area and Ethnic Group	All Schools		Elementary		Junior High		Academic High		Vocational High	
	1964-1965	1957-1958	1964-1965	1957-1958	1964-1965	1957-1958	1964-1965	1957-1958	1964-1965	1957-1958
New York City Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Negro	27.3	18.2	30.1	20.5	28.0	18.9	18.2	9.3	28.6	23.6
Puerto Rican	18.2	13.5	20.7	15.3	18.7	16.1	8.9	4.6	24.2	20.4
Other	54.5	68.3	49.2	64.2	53.3	65.0	72.9	86.1	47.2	56.0
Bronx Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Negro	26.9	15.6	28.6	17.1	26.7	14.7	20.9	9.5	29.3	25.8
Puerto Rican	30.6	19.8	34.2	22.6	30.4	21.2	15.9	6.5	46.2	35.9
Other	42.5	64.6	37.2	60.3	42.9	64.1	63.2	84.0	24.5	38.3
Brooklyn Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Negro	29.5	17.5	33.3	21.0	30.5	16.7	16.8	7.4	27.8	24.0
Puerto Rican	16.9	10.2	19.9	12.2	16.9	11.5	6.5	2.4	20.6	16.0
Other	53.6	72.3	46.8	66.8	52.6	71.8	76.7	90.2	51.6	60.0
Manhattan Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Negro	38.9	32.7	41.2	35.7	39.2	33.7	33.9	24.3	31.3	24.8
Puerto Rican	32.6	30.4	36.0	33.6	34.2	34.0	22.2	16.9	26.5	24.0
Other	28.5	36.9	22.8	30.7	26.6	32.3	43.9	58.8	42.2	51.2
Queens Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Negro	18.9	10.9	21.5	12.4	19.2	12.5	11.9	5.1	21.9	16.8
Puerto Rican	2.1	1.4	2.0	1.7	2.1	1.5	1.4	0.7	9.0	2.8
Other	79.0	87.7	76.5	85.9	78.7	86.0	86.7	94.2	69.1	80.4
Richmond Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	-	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Negro	8.1	6.2	8.9	7.1	9.7	-	4.6	2.6	11.2	12.0
Puerto Rican	2.1	1.4	2.1	1.7	2.5	-	1.6	0.6	4.5	1.8
Other	89.8	92.4	89.0	91.2	87.8	-	93.8	96.8	84.3	86.2

Sources: Derived from unpublished tabulations of Special Census of School Population, January 15, 1965, supplied by Board of Education, City of New York; and Board of Education, City of New York, News Bureau Release, N-151/63/64, January 6, 1964. Mimeographed.

disease cases were reported to be in these districts. It is clear from these statistics that these districts were overwhelmed by problems of earnings, health, youth and general welfare of the indigenous population.

Table 28 shows the ethnic distribution of the ten CEC districts for 1965. It reveals that four out of ten districts have a majority non-White population; namely, District 16 (51.2%), District 13 (52.8%), District 32 (60.4%), and District 33 (73.9%). Moreover, Table 28 shows that in 1967, non-Whites in these three districts were as high as two to four times their percentage in the New York City population. Similarly, it clearly shows that the Puerto Ricans were disproportionately concentrated in District 7. Whereas this group constitute 9.5% of the city's population, it is 43.2% of the district's population. In short, this figure is more than four times as large as that for the total city population. In contrast to these two groups, the table points out that in the three districts in which Whites were in the majority, they were underrepresented relative to their proportion in the district and their proportion in the city. In districts 14, 19 and 28, Whites are 56.0%, 63.4% and 69.9% respectively whereas they were 72.7% of the city's population.

TABLE 28

Population by Ethnic Groups
Number and Percentages by Districts Based on Health Area Statistics

1965

Districts	Total Population	WHITE Number	WHITE Percent	NON-WHITE Number	NON-WHITE Percent	PUERTO RICAN Number	PUERTO RICAN Percent
4	124,705	34,528	27.7	49,942	40.1	40,235	32.2
7	175,631	56,099	31.9	43,702	24.9	75,830	43.2
12	200,414	79,979	39.9	55,803	27.8	64,632	32.3
13	251,444	88,543	35.2	132,741	52.8	30,160	12.0
14	222,064	124,909	56.0	31,520	14.1	65,635	29.9
16	234,156	81,542	34.8	119,826	51.2	32,788	14.0
19	177,235	112,250	63.4	40,271	22.7	24,714	13.9
28	298,079	207,673	69.9	85,488	28.6	4,918	1.5
32	25,869	6,918	26.7	15,620	60.4	3,331	12.9
33	25,536	2,562	10.0	18,850	73.9	4,124	16.1
	1,735,133	795,003	13.9%	593,763	42.4%	346,367	46.1%
	22.1%						
New York City	7,880,263	5,730,451	72.7	1,399,906	17.8	749,906	9.5
Bronx	1,454,399	960,973	66.1	240,905	16.5	252,521	17.4
Brooklyn	2,599,167	1,835,056	70.6	512,524	19.7	251,587	9.7
Manhattan	1,680,430	1,056,564	62.9	410,636	24.4	213,230	12.7
Queens	1,892,721	1,644,728	86.9	218,206	11.5	29,787	1.6
Richmond	253,546	233,130	91.9	17,635	7.0	2,781	1.1

Source: *Directory of Needs,* New York: Human Resources Administration (Youth Services Agency), April 1969, pp. 13-23.

Age composition, as shown in Table 29 has no appreciable variation among the ten districts. This is most likely due to the masking effect of broad and varied groupings employed in tabulating the data. Nevertheless, it is interesting to note that District 28, which had the highest percentage White also has the highest percentage of persons 65 years old and over. Similarly, districts 4, 33, 7, 16 and 32, which were among the lowest percentage White, rank also as the lowest percentage 65 years old and over. Therefore, these findings strongly confirm for these districts what is known in general; that is, Whites in these districts are living longer than non-Whites.

Table 30 describes delinquency of youth from age 7 through 20 years. It is an indicator of social deviance of youth in that it reflects the efforts of community and social agencies to respond to persons who are in some difficulty with the law. Moreover, it reflects the influence of age and ethnic composition in this area. District 28 which has the lowest percentage of youth 7 through 20 years and the highest percentage of Whites also has the lowest offense rate per thousand youth. Similarly, District 32 which ranks very high on per cent non-White and per cent 7 through 20 years also ranks high on offense rate per thousand youth. District 7, with the highest percentage Puerto Rican and the highest percentage of youth through 20 years ranks high on offense rate per thousand youth. However, this rank is not as high as one would expect given its rank on the other two variables. In short, rate of offenses per thousand youth is closely related to per cent non-White and Puerto Rican. All districts except 28 had rates higher than that for the total city population.

Another variable, closely related to age and ethnic composition of districts, is the number of persons on financial assistance, which is outlined in Table 31. The table shows the number of cases per thousand population as well as the number or percentage of persons on assistance. District 28 had the lowest percentage of persons on assistance (4.7%) and the lowest cases per thousand (16.5). These figures were lower than that of the total New York City population (9.0% and 31.7, respectively) but higher than the Queens Borough total (2.5% and 9.6, respectively). Viewing this variable as an economic variable, one could conclude that these figures suggest a pocket of poverty in this district.

Table 31 reveals also that District 32 ranks highest (28.6%) on per cent of persons in assistance caseload and that District 33 ranks highest (87.1 per thousand) on

TABLE 29

Age Distribution by Health Area
1965

Districts	Total Population	AGE GROUPS: 6 Years or Under Number	6 Years or Under Percent	7-20 Years Number	7-20 Years Percent	21-64 Years Number	21-64 Years Percent	65 and Over Number	65 and Over Percent
4	124,705	21,027	16.9	28,073	22.5	64,213	51.5	11,392	9.1
7	175,631	30,416	17.3	42,903	24.4	87,403	49.8	14,909	8.5
12	200,414	30,020	15.0	43,310	21.6	105,872	52.8	21,212	10.6
13	251,444	37,800	15.0	53,413	21.2	134,088	53.4	26,143	10.4
14	222,064	37,776	17.0	52,001	23.4	109,554	49.4	22,733	10.2
16	234,156	39,890	17.0	53,902	23.0	120,006	51.3	20,358	8.7
19	177,235	29,795	16.8	41,952	23.7	86,540	48.8	18,948	10.7
28	298,079	35,482	11.9	54,280	18.2	172,170	57.8	36,147	12.1
32	25,869	4,691	18.1	6,103	23.6	12,879	49.8	2,196	8.5
33	25,536	4,266	16.7	5,905	23.1	13,202	51.7	2,163	8.5
	1,735,133	271,163	22.1% / 27.4%	381,842	24.4%	905,927	21.0%	176,201	17.4%
New York City	7,880,263	987,228	12.5	1,561,731	19.8	4,316,143	54.8	1,015,161	12.9
Bronx	1,454,399	185,532	12.8	300,431	20.7	781,790	53.7	186,646	12.8
Brooklyn	2,599,167	365,117	14.1	552,689	21.2	1,382,681	53.2	298,680	11.5
Manhattan	1,680,430	174,206	10.4	268,791	16.0	962,483	57.3	274,950	16.3
Queens	1,892,721	224,079	11.8	376,658	19.9	1,062,515	56.2	229,469	12.1
Richmond	253,546	38,294	15.1	63,162	24.9	126,674	50.0	25,416	10.0

Source: *Directory of Needs,* New York: Human Resources Administration (Youth Services Agency), April, 1969, pp. 25-35.

TABLE 30

Delinquency, 7 Through 20 Years
Number and Age Specific Rate by Health Area
1967

Districts	Youth Population 7-20 Years 1965	Offenses Per 1,000 Youths	OFFENSES 7 THROUGH 20 YEARS 1967 Total	Detentions and Arrests	Referrals
4	28,073	92.8	2,606	1,102	1,491
7	42,903	99.7	4,276	2,098	2,178
12	43,310	84.8	3,674	1,785	2,075
13	53,413	117.9	6,297	2,433	3,866
14	52,001	75.3	3,917	1,829	2,088
16	53,902	121.9	6,574	2,540	4,033
19	41,952	117.8	4,941	1,940	3,000
28	54,280	49.8	2,702	1,487	1,215
32	6,103	133.5	815	319	497
33	5,905	89.8	530	223	305
	381,842		36,332	15,756	20,251
		24.4%		39.4%	36.6%	41.0%
New York City	1,561,731	59.0	92,189	42,991	49,278
Bronx	300,431	60.2	18,099	8,783	9,316
Brooklyn	552,689	73.2	40,471	17,041	23,430
Manhattan	268,791	70.7	18,991	9,339	9,652
Queens	376,658	33.6	12,642	6,724	5,918
Richmond	63,162	31.4	1,986	1,024	962

Source: *Directory of Needs,* New York: Human Resources Administration (Youth Services Agency), April, 1969, pp. 37-47.

cases per thousand persons. These districts are almost identical in ethnic composition and quite similar in age composition–the two variables most closely related to receiving financial assistance. However, District 33 has a lesser percentage of Whites and a greater percentage of non-Whites and Puerto Ricans than District 32. Moreover, the table suggests that of the two districts, District 33 has the greater percentage of persons 65 and over and the greater percentage of persons in the child-bearing ages. This, more than anything else, probably accounts for the difference between the two districts with respect to number of persons and cases. Because District 33 has more families and older people, it is, therefore, more likely to have multiple cases of assistance in one family, which accounts for the higher number of cases per thousand in this district.

Table 32, which shows financial aid to families with children in 1967, discloses similar findings. Therefore some of the comments made above can also apply here. Again District 32 and 28 present some interesting statistics. District 32 remains the highest on Total Children in Assistance Caseload and District 28 remains the lowest. As before, the rate for District 28 is lower than that of the total city population rate but twice as high as the Queens borough rate. On the other hand the rate for District 32 was higher than that for the city and the Brooklyn borough. When Total Caseload is subdivided into ADC and TADC and Home Relief, the two districts maintain their relative positions for ADC and TADC but District 7 replaces District 32 as having the highest rank for Home Relief. Nevertheless, District 32 still remains among those districts having the highest rate per thousand on Home Relief. All other districts have higher rates than the city or their corresponding borough.

Tables 33 and 34 give some information on levels of health in these districts. The first table shows information on infant mortality and out-of-wedlock births. Upon reviewing the data on infant mortality, one can readily see that in all cases, except in District 28, the rate for the district was higher than that of the city or the corresponding borough. In District 28 the rate was lower than that for the city but higher than that of the borough. In fact, this relationship has been characteristic of District 28 in all the tables. District 19, which ranks as highest on infant mortality rate, presents an alarmingly high rate of 42.8 per thousand. This rate is similar to those registered for such countries as Spain, Hungary and Puerto Rico in 1963. The rate for

TABLE 31

Financial Assistance
Number of Persons and Rate, and Number of Cases
1967

Districts	Total Population 1965	Persons in Assistance Caseload Number	Percent	Number of Cases	Per 1,000 Population
4	124,705	26,243	21.0	9,659	77.5
7	175,631	43,729	24.9	13,107	74.6
12	200,414	48,419	24.2	15,409	76.9
13	251,444	48,332	19.2	16,659	66.3
14	222,064	37,816	17.0	11,156	50.2
16	234,156	58,415	25.0	17,908	76.4
19	177,235	41,257	23.3	10,761	60.7
28	298,079	14,111	4.7	4,909	16.5
32	25,869	7,398	28.6	2,116	81.8
33	25,536	5,498	21.5	2,225	87.1
	1,735,133	331,238		103,909	
	} 22.1%	} 46.9%		} 41.5%	
New York City	7,880,263	705,233	9.0	250,089	31.7
Bronx	1,454,399	184,548	12.7	60,493	41.6
Brooklyn	2,599,167	307,760	11.8	98,127	37.8
Manhattan	1,680,430	159,780	9.5	71,074	42.3
Queens	1,892,721	46,989	2.5	18,147	9.6
Richmond	253,546	6,156	2.4	2,248	8.9

Source: *Directory of Needs,* New York: Human Resources Administration (Youth Services Agency), April, 1969, pp. 49-59.

TABLE 32

Financial Aid to Families with Children
Number and Rate by Category of Aid
1967

Districts	Population Under 18 1965	CHILDREN IN ASSISTANCE CASELOAD – JULY 1967					
		Total Under 18		ADC and TADC		Home Relief	
		Number	Per 1,000 Under 18	Number	Per 1,000 Under 18	Number	Per 1,000 Under 18
4	45,170	15,585	345.0	13,579	300.6	2,006	44.4
7	65,074	28,759	441.9	25,193	387.1	3,566	54.8
12	64,064	31,449	490.9	28,616	446.7	2,833	44.2
13	79,905	30,195	377.9	27,264	341.2	2,931	36.7
14	79,875	24,859	311.2	21,851	273.6	3,008	37.7
16	84,231	38,663	459.0	35,234	418.3	3,429	40.7
19	63,930	28,976	453.2	26,182	409.6	2,794	43.7
28	78,800	9,144	116.0	8,247	104.7	897	11.4
32	9,399	5,053	537.6	4,599	489.3	454	48.3
33	9,072	3,118	343.7	2,765	304.8	353	38.9
	579,520	215,801		193,530		22,271	
	} 25.9%	} 49.9%		} 49.9%		} 49.8%	
New York City	2,235,831	432,209	193.3	387,575	173.3	44,634	20.0
Bronx	422,927	117,737	278.4	105,740	250.0	11,997	28.4
Brooklyn	808,324	198,522	245.6	178,827	221.2	19,695	24.4
Manhattan	386,484	84,068	217.5	74,222	192.0	9,846	25.5
Queens	527,051	28,145	53.4	25,286	48.0	2,839	5.4
Richmond	91,045	3,737	41.0	3,500	38.4	237	2.6

Source: *Directory of Needs,* New York: Human Resources Administration (Youth Services Agency), April, 1969, pp. 61-71.

TABLE 33

Infant Mortality and Out-of-Wedlock Births
Live Births; Deaths Under One Year: Number and Rate;
Out-of-Wedlock Births: Number and Percentage

Districts	Live Births	Deaths Under One Year		OUT-OF-WEDLOCK BIRTHS	
		Number	Per 1,000 Live Births	Number	Percent of Live Births
4	2,408	84	34.9	930	38.6
7	3,990	131	32.8	1,260	31.6
12	4,972	159	32.0	1,446	29.1
13	5,416	215	39.7	1,756	32.4
14	4,889	128	26.2	896	18.3
16	5,814	194	33.4	1,827	31.4
19	4,462	191	42.8	1,188	26.6
28	5,267	119	22.6	720	13.7
32	707	25	35.4	236	33.4
33	445	15	33.7	216	48.5
	38,370	1,261		10,475	
	28.3%	39.2%		46.4%	
New York City	135,394	3,214	23.7	22,561	16.7
Bronx	27,145	703	25.9	5,336	19.7
Brooklyn	50,110	1,271	25.4	8,943	17.8
Manhattan	23,716	601	25.3	5,924	25.0
Queens	27,663	525	17.7	2,119	7.1
Richmond	4,760	114	23.9	239	5.0

Source: *Directory of Needs,* New York: Human Resources Administration (Youth Services Agency), April, 1969, pp. 73-83.

the U.S. in that year was 25.2, which shows that the rate for District 19 was an extraordinarily high one. If one notes that this district has one of the lowest percent non-White and one of the highest percent White, this statistic would come to him as a surprise because infant mortality is highest among nonwhites in New York City. However, this would be a lesser surprise if one would also note that this districts ranks high on Children In Assistance and Children on ADC and TADC, our economic indicators. This demonstrates that there are economic factors rather than racial factors alone involved in the infant mortality rates encountered in these areas. This can be clearly understood when one recognized that economic factors are closely linked up with access to such amenities of urban living as education, health care, housing and nutrition.

The table on veneral diseases reveals that District 13 in Brooklyn had the highest rate of reported cases of veneral disease in 1967. However, one should be cautious in interpreting this table since it is based on reported cases of venereal disease, which, in turn, depend upon physician, location and, therefore, some socio-economic factors of both the patient and his environment. Nevertheless, it is instructive to observe that the districts with the highest percentage non-White also had the highest rate of reported cases of venereal diseases. Yet, the battle over sex-education in the schools is not being fought in the ghetto schools. Summary tables for the demographic factors considered in Tables 16–34 are presented in Volume III.

Table 35 shows the dependency ratio for each district. This ratio purports to measure how many dependents each 100 persons in productive (labor force) years must support. It is derived by calculating the ratio, multiplied by 100, of those persons under 20 and/or those 65 and over to those persons in the age group 21-44. In short it is assumed that the first two groups are out of the labor force and that the last group is in the labor force. Naturally, the assumption is incorrect in some cases. But it has been found that these errors tend to cancel each other out and subsequently allow for a fairly correct estimate of the ratio. With this type of statistic, it is possible to make several statements about the social organization of the districts or communities under study. First of all, since it is a ratio of persons out of labor force to persons in labor force, one can talk about the carrying load of the district or the extent to which the community's productive force is constrained either directly or indirectly to support

TABLE 34

Venereal Disease, 7 Through 20 Years
Number and Age Specific Rate
1967

Districts	Youth Population 7-20 Years 1965	Reported Cases of Syphilis and Gonorrhea, 7 through 20 Years	
		Number	Cases Per 100,000 Youths
4	28,073	258	919.0
7	42,903	250	582.7
12	43,310	349	805.8
13	53,413	706	1,321.8
14	52,001	184	353.8
16	53,902	488	905.3
19	41,952	276	657.9
28	54,280	172	316.8
32	6,103	61	999.5
33	5,905	82	1,388.7
	381,842	2,826	
	} 24.4%	} 40.1%	
New York City	1,561,731	7,049	451.4
Bronx	300,431	1,283	427.1
Brooklyn	552,689	2,610	472.2
Manhattan	268,791	2,584	961.3
Queens	376,658	549	145.8
Richmond	63,163	23	36.4

Source: *Directory of Needs,* New York: Human Resources Administration (Youth Services Agency), April, 1969, pp. 85-95.

others. This support often means shifting persons to financial assistance or limiting their capacity to participate in other areas of social activity such as community education projects. In Table 35 the dependency ratio is shown in three ways: Total Dependency, Youth Dependency, and Old Age Dependency. That is, Total Dependency is subdivided by its subcatagories–Youth and Old Age. This finer breakdown is important because a community will have a different type of problem and consequently need a different solution for Youth dependency than for Old Age dependency. Much of this has been already reflected in other tables.

District 19 has the highest total dependency (105) and the highest Old Age dependency (22). For total dependency, this means that for every 100 productive persons, there are 105 unproductive persons that these persons must support–83 of

these unproductive persons being youth and the remainder (22) being older persons. This statistic more than anything else probably explains the relative high rank of this district on financial assistance and on infant mortality. This kind of carr /ing load would most likely exhaust whatever resources are available for the care of the aged and the socialization and education of youth. Moreover, District 19 and District 14 were the only districts that registered both high youth and old age dependency ratios. Districts 7 and 32 had a low old age dependency ratio but a high youth dependency ratio. Districts 12 and 28 exhibited a high old age dependency ratio but a low youth dependency ratio. In this way, one can see the wide variety of programming in terms of problem solving or relief needed in these districts. As compared to the city and their corresponding boroughs, total and youth dependency tended to be higher in most of these districts; however, old age dependency tended to be lower. This is reflective of higher fertility rates and shorter length of life experienced in these districts.

TABLE 35

Dependency Ratio for Youth and Old Age by District

District	Total	Youth	Old Age
4	95	77	18
7	101	84	17
12	89	69	20
13	87	68	19
14	103	82	21
16	95	78	17
19	105	83	22
28	73	52	21
32	101	84	17
33	93	77	16

	TOTAL	YOUTH	OLD AGE
New York City	82	59	23
Bronx	86	62	24
Brooklyn	88	66	22
Manhattan	74	46	28
Queens	78	56	22
Richmond	100	80	20

Source: Directory of Needs

Another measure of social organization is shown in Table 36. This measure indicates the amount of ethnic heterogeneity (diversity) encountered in each district. It is a measure developed by Stanley Lieberson and similar to segregation indices developed by Bell, Duncan, Shevky and others, which are described by the Taeubers in *Negroes in Cities.* Here, diversity is described by the factor A, or as the probability that randomly paired members of a population (district) will be different on a specified characteristic. The characteristics which form the basis of this table are: White, non-White and Puerto Rican.

The formula is derived in the following manner. If X_1, X_2 and X_3 represent the proportion White, non-White and Puerto Rican in a district, then the proportion of pairs with each possible ethnic combination is derived by squaring the three factors. $(X_1 + X_2 + X_3)^2 = (X_1)^2 + (X_2)^2 + (X_3)^2 + 2\,[(X_1 X_2) + (X_1 X_3) + (X_2 X_3)]$ for all possible paired combinations of the ethnic groups. Like pairs are represented by the first three terms and unlike pairs are represented by the last three terms enclosed in brackets. Since the sum of this multinominal expansion is equal to 1.00, Lieberson suggests calculating the probability of common pairs and subtracting from one to obtain the index of diversity. In short $Aw = 1 - (X_1)^2 + (X_2)^2 + (X_3)^2$. This was the formula by which the raw scores in Tables 36 were obtained. The standardized score was obtained, as suggested by Lieberson, from the fact that this measure cannot reach 1.00 exactly because it is a function of the number of subclasses included in the formula. Thus if N is the number of subclasses, the maximum level of Aw is $1 - \frac{1}{N}$. Therefore, $Aw/1 - \frac{1}{N}$ is the standardized score in this classification scheme. There were 3 subclasses and $1 - \frac{1}{3}$ equals .667, so .667 was the factor used in standardization.

In Table 36 Districts 4 and 12's raw score of .659 means that given any random pair of individuals, the probability is a little over 65% that those individuals will be of different ethnic backgrounds. Since this can happen at most 67% of the time for three subclasses, those districts reached 98% of their maximum level of diversity. Moreover, District 33, whose raw score was lowest on diversity (.418) attained the lowest percentage of its maximum level of diversity (63%). In addition to showing diversity, this measure also shows the extent to which these districts are racially segregated. Thus, Districts 28 and 33 appear to be the most racially segregated by evidence of their low raw score and standardized score on diversity. Similarly, Districts 4 and 12 seem to

be the most racially homogeneous district because of their high raw and standardized scores.

TABLE 36

Raw and Stardardized Measures of Diversity

District	Raw Score	Standardized Score
4	.659	.98
33	.418	.63
7	.650	.97
12	.659	.98
13	.583	.87
14	.577	.87
16	.597	.90
19	.527	.79
32	.547	.82
28	.429	.67

Table 37 shows the diversity between districts Ab. Here we combine two districts and ask what is the probability of encountering like or unlike pairs from the two districts. Thus, each X_a in District A is multiplied by an X_b in District B in order to derive an estimate of homogeneity between the districts. This, in turn, is subtracted from 1.00 to obtain the diversity score. The table is quite informative because it reveals that the combination of otherwise highly segregated districts (low-diversity scores) could, in fact, raise their scores. In this way, Districts 19 or 32 combined with Districts 13, 14 or 16, raise not only their own scores but the other districts' scores as well. In other cases, combining two districts could have adverse effect. For example, combining Districts 19 and 32 raises District 32's score from .547 or .55 to .56, whereas combining Districts 4 and 33 lowers District 4's score from .659 or .66 to .62.

Administratively, this means that district lines are not at this time drawn to elicit maximum participation from the various groups nor to allow for more communication, in terms of educational activities and goals, among them.

TABLE 37

Diversity A_b Between Districts

	4	33	7	12	13	14	16	19	32	28
4		.62	.67	.67	.65	.69	.65	.69	.69	.64
33			.71	.70	.56	.79	.56	.75	.72	.51
7				.66	.70	.66	.70	.68	.70	.70
12					.71	.64	.67	.64	.63	.68
13						.69	.58	.64	.61	.50
14							.69	.57	.56	.73
16								.64	.61	.58
19									.49	.68
32										.64
28										

The development of a typology or a classification shceme that could reveal important insights into the demographic factors which characterize the areas, was constructed by correlating all the variables mentioned above with each other, the result of which is shown in the intercorrelation matrix in Table 38. Again, such variables as percent White, financial assistance and total dependency proved to be effective in explaining a great percentage of the variance. However, percent White has a negative correlation with almost all other variables. These correlations are, of course, the results of cross-sectional analysis and entirely different results could be obtained in a time series (longitudinal) analysis.

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TABLE 38

Intercorrelation Matrix of Demographic Variables

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)
(1) Percent White		-.76	-.27	-.44	-.59	-.47	-.54	-.80	-.21	-.39	-.91	-.30	.38
(2) Percent non-White			-.40	.44	.41	.21	.07	.88	.12	.04	.76	.35	.00
(3) Percent Puerto Rican				-.06	.41	.29	.69	-.17	.48	.49	.18	.01	.07
(4) Offense Per 1,000					.81	.82	.66	.55	.57	.62	.39	.81	.52
(5) Financial Assistance						.95	.92	.45	.73	.48	.51	.65	.25
(6) TADC							.83	.37	.25	.67	.33	.65	.36
(7) Home Relief								.29	.81	.36	.44	.58	.23
(8) Venereal Disease									.00	.14	.63	.59	.66
(9) Dependency/Total										-.98	.13	-.48	.72
(10) Dependency/Youth											-.33	.48	.45
(11) Dependency/Old Age												.13	.03
(12) Infant Mortality													.57
(13) A_w													

These intercorrelations were analyzed and reduced to two clusters, the result of which is shown in Table 39. The clusters are not the only ones that could be derived from the intercorrelation matrix. However, they represent ones meeting the minimum criterion for acceptance of B-coefficient, 1.30, which was suggested by Holzinger and Harman in 1941. One of the salient features of the two-cluster table is that it allocates Whites to one cluster of intercorrelations (Cluster 2) and non-White and Puerto Ricans to the other (Cluster 1), which is reasonable since we have observed above the differential effects certain variables had on Whites on the one hand and non-Whites and Puerto Ricans on the other. In this way the clusters could be labelled "the White dimension" and the "non-White-Puerto Rican dimension", according to these observations, but this would not be sufficiently descriptive of what is actually taking place in these districts. That is, although the two dimensions include, in additon to ethnicity, health (variable 8 and 12), economy (variables 5,6,7,9,10 and 11) and social organization (variables 13 as well as 9, 10, and 11), they do not reveal the intensity or direction with which districts scored on these variables.

TABLE 39

Cluster, Variables, and B–Coefficient

CLUSTER	VARIABLES	B–COEFFICIENT
1	(2,3,4,5,6,7,8,11)	1.80
2	(1,9,10,12,13)	1.33

This can be illustrated in two steps: first by adding another variable or dimension which measures the concentration of Whites and non-Whites in each district; and secondly by computing a median-average rank for each district and, in turn, classifying each district according to whether it falls on, above, or below this median. The first step was completed by using the Gini Index of Concentration, sometimes called the "concentration coefficient". This measure is based upon the following observations. If cumulative percentage White was plotted on the y-axis and cumulative non-white on the x-axis of a Cartesian field, a 45-degree line from the origin through the last coordinate would represent equal percentages of Whites and non-Whites. In this way any departure is represented by a curve enclosing a space either above or below

the diagoral or equality line. The Gini Index of Concentration can then be defined as the ratio of the area between the curve and diagonal. If the total Cartesian is equal to one and it is assumed that the curve between any two points is approximated by a straight line, then the index can be expressed by the following formula:

$$G = \Sigma (Xi + Xi + 1) (Yi - Yi - 1) - 1$$

where Xi is the cumulative proportion non-White through the ith Health Area (or Census Tract) and Yi, the cumlative proportion of White for the same city unit.

The results of these calculations are shown in Figures 8-17. Gini scores range from .17 for District 7, which represents very little departure from the equality line, to .84 for District 28, which is a tremendous departure from the diagonal representing equal proportions Whites and non-Whites. This reveals that non-Whites were more concentrated or segragated in the Queens district than they were in either of the Manhattan districts, both of which are contained in Harlem—one of the best known non-White residential areas. In fact, parts of District 28 can be described as a "slurb"—a slum in a suburban area.

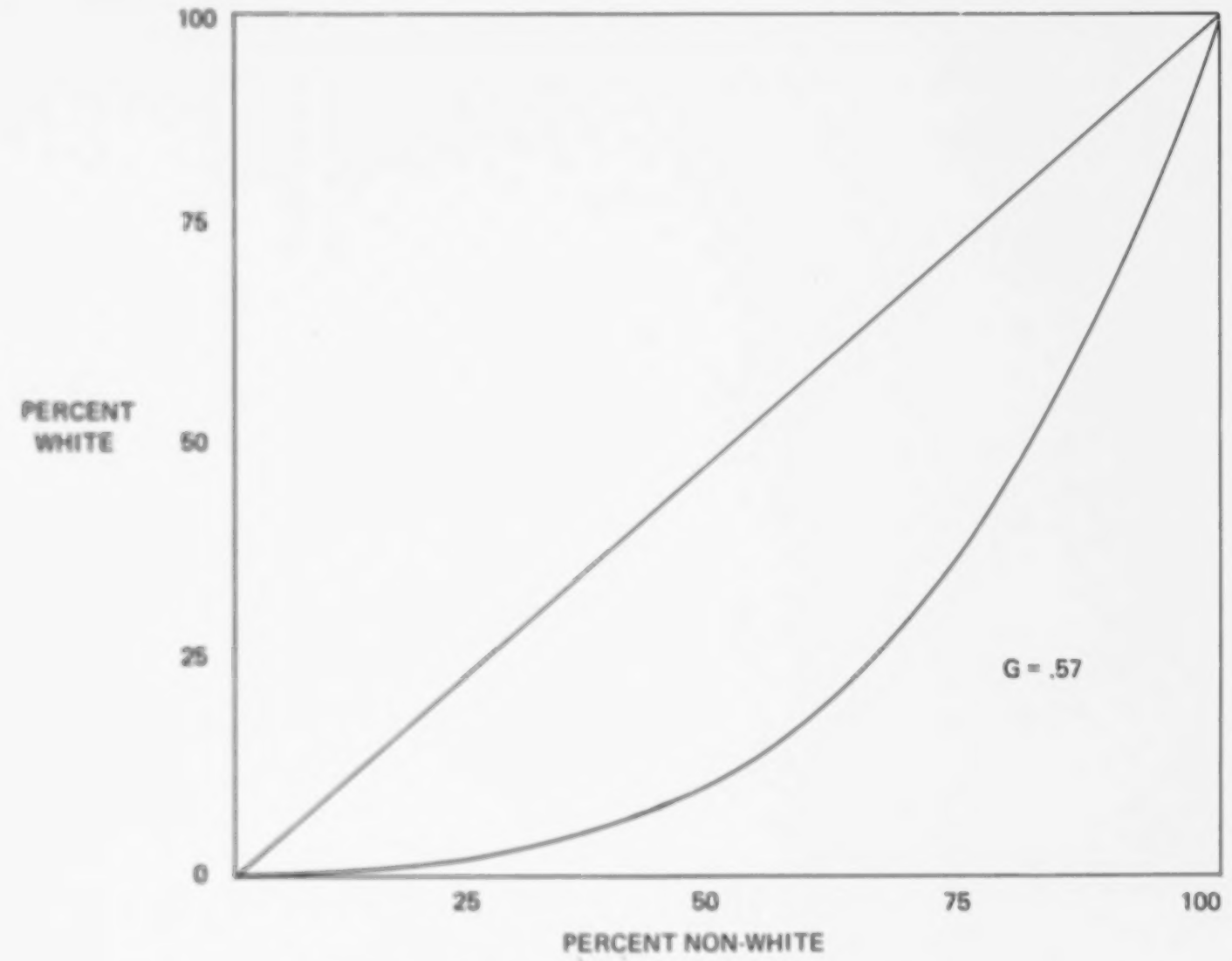

Figure 8. Curve of Ethnic Concentration in District 4

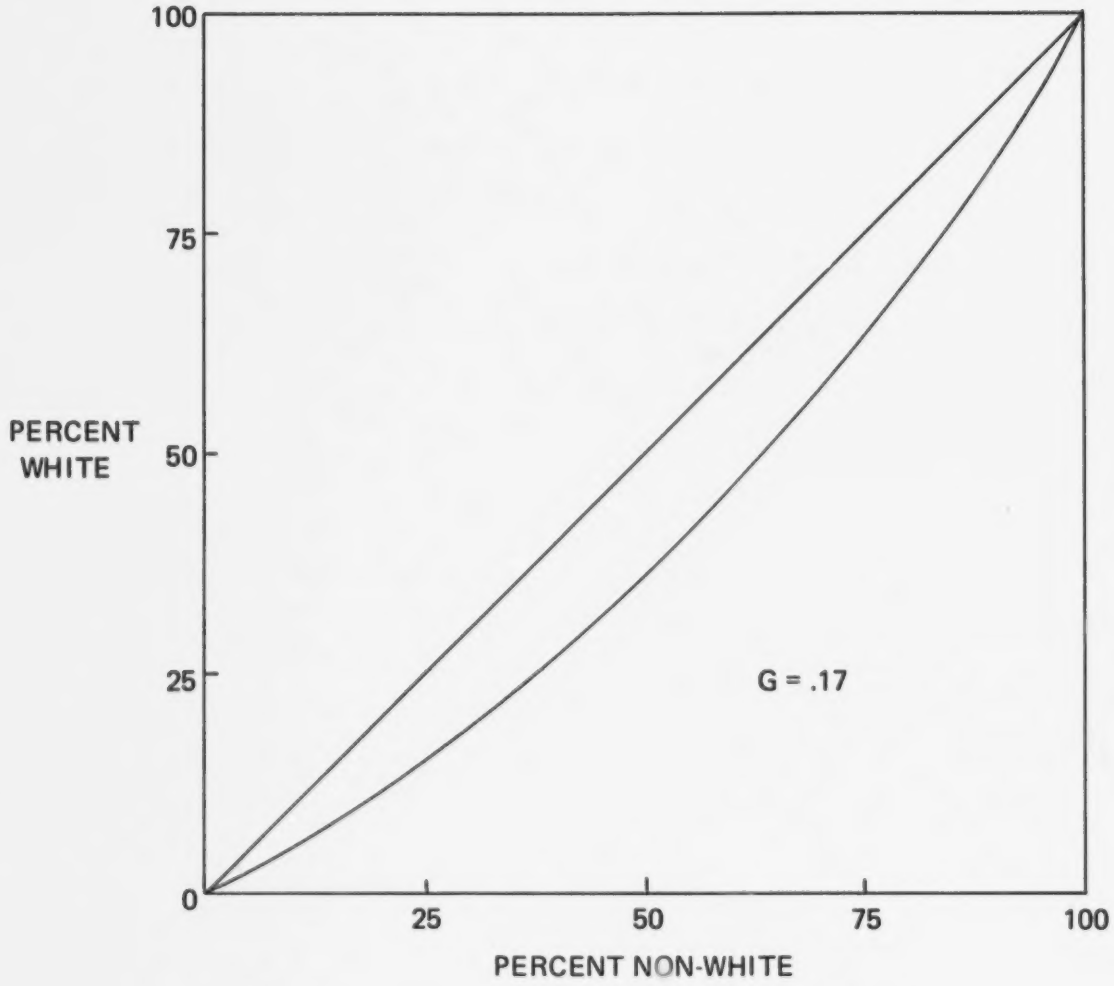

Figure 9. Curve of Ethnic Concentration in District 7.

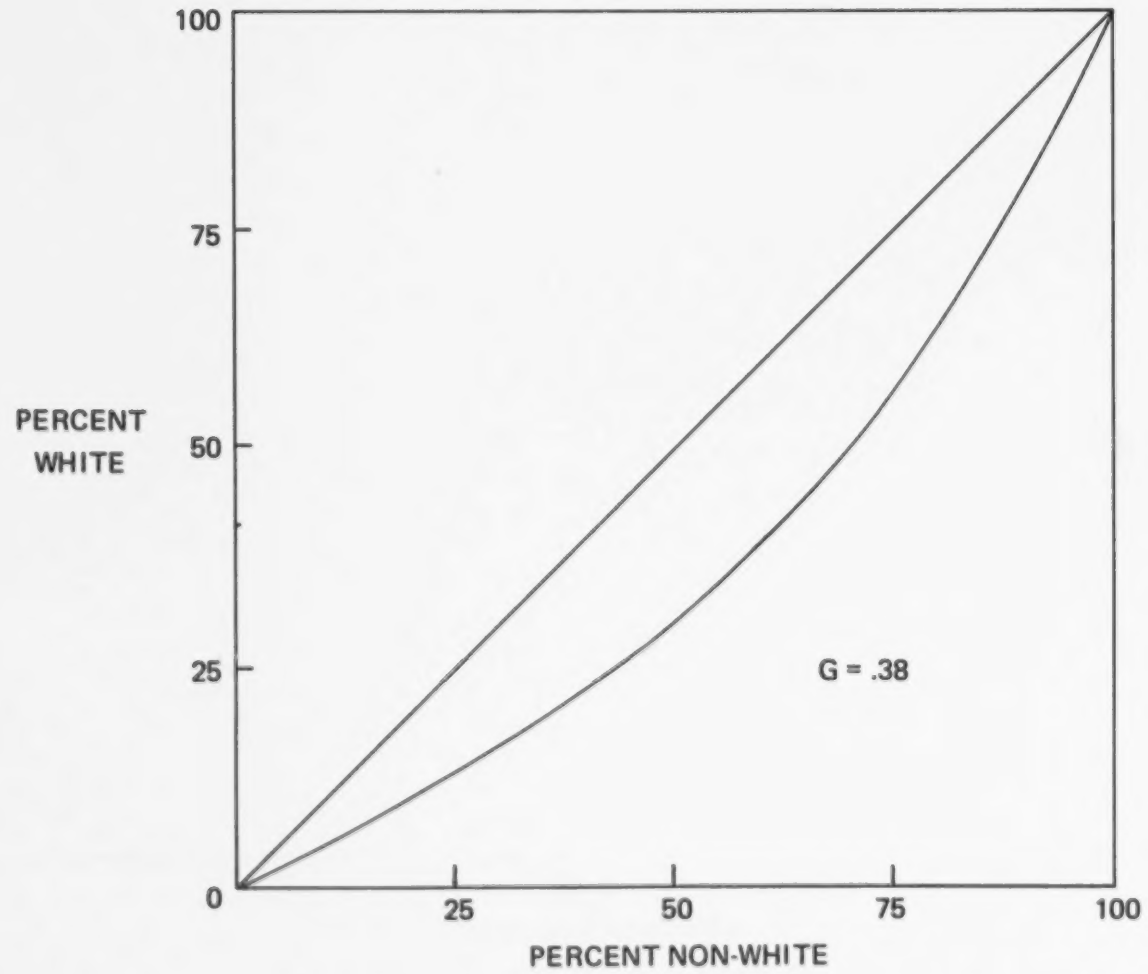

Figure 10. Curve of Ethnic Concentration in District 12.

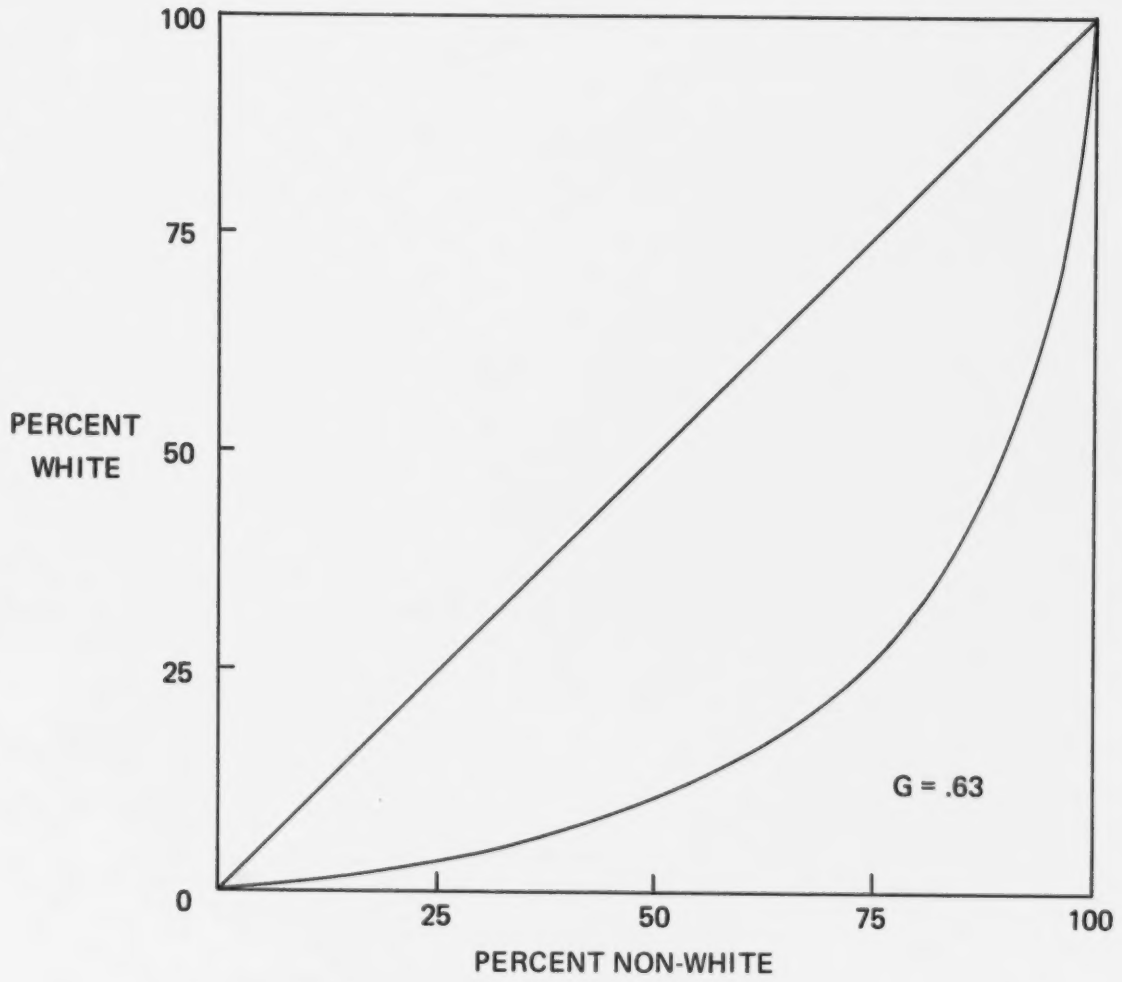

Figure 11. Curve of Ethnic Concentration in District 13.

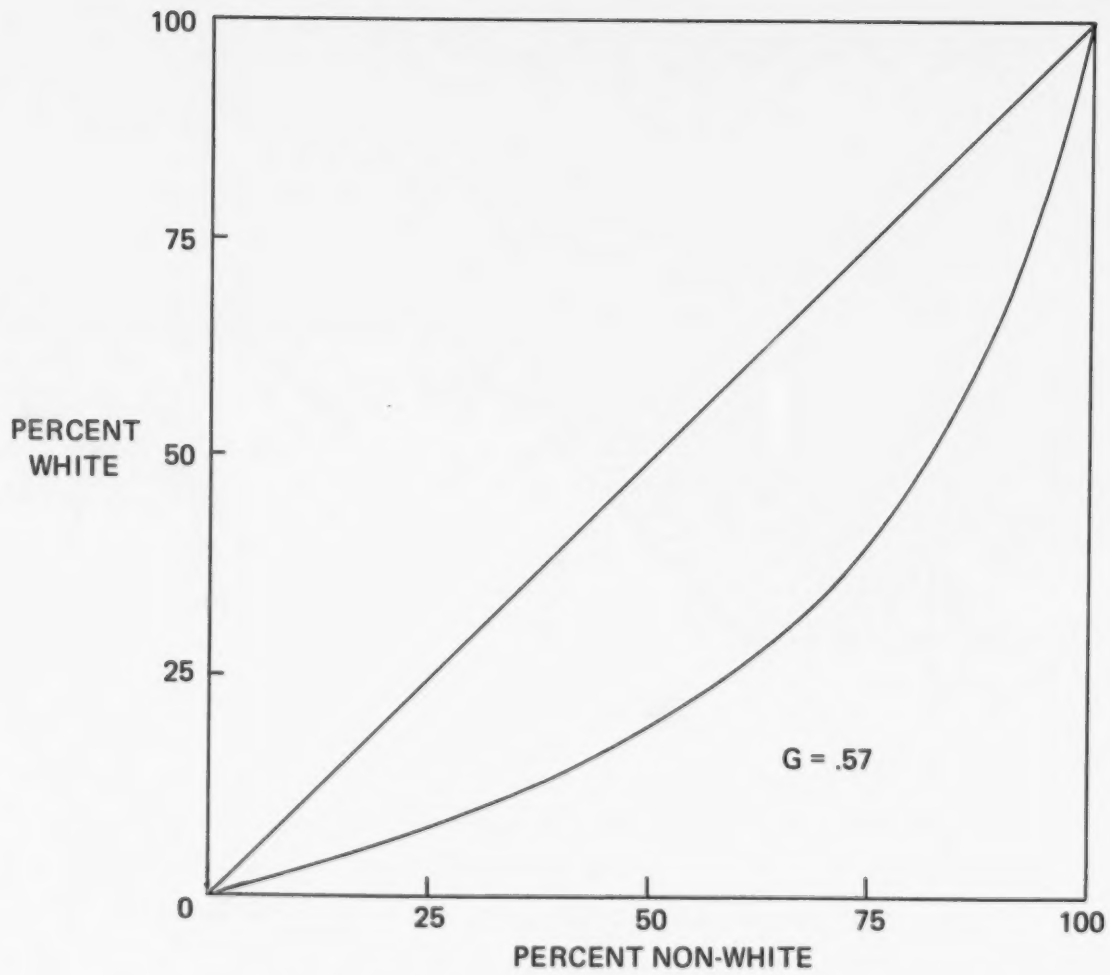

Figure 12. Curve of Ethnic Concentration in District 14.

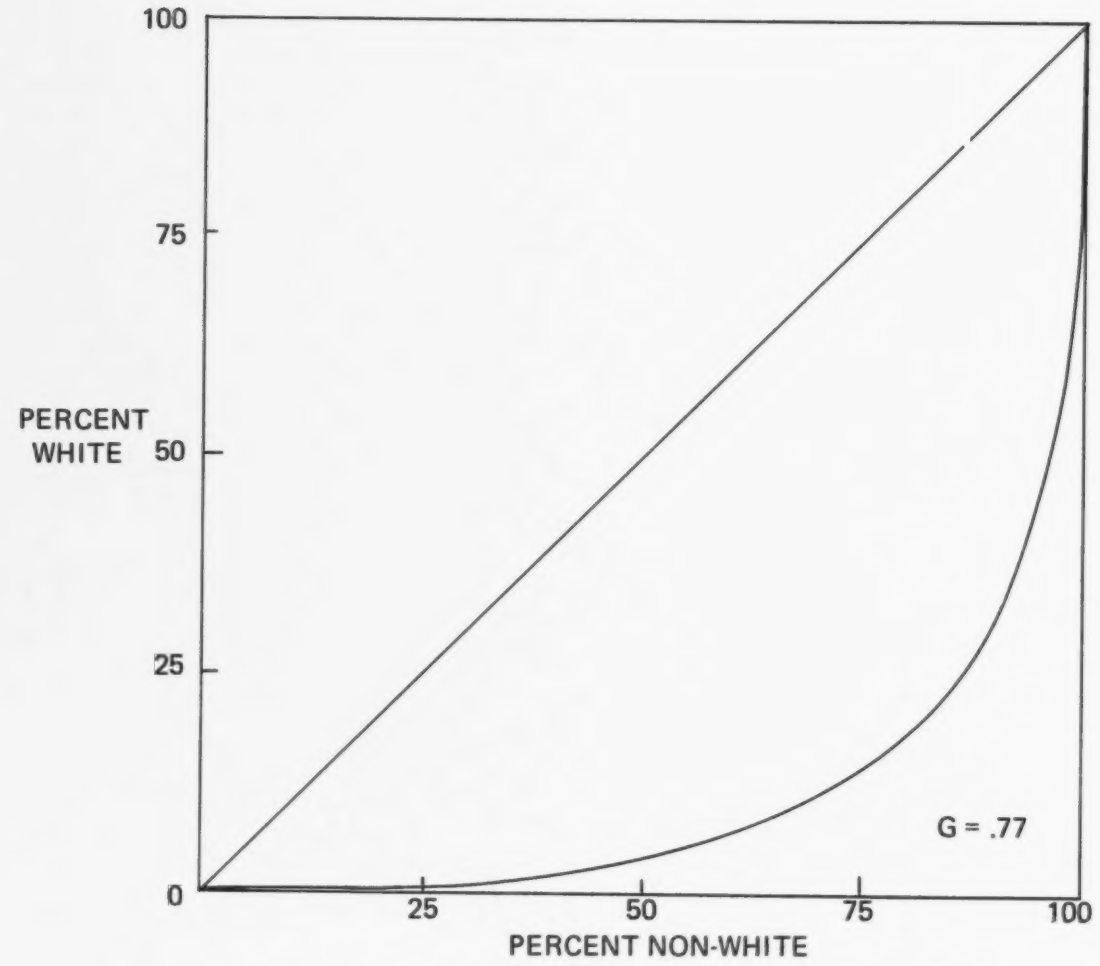

Figure 13. Curve of Ethnic Concentration in District 16.

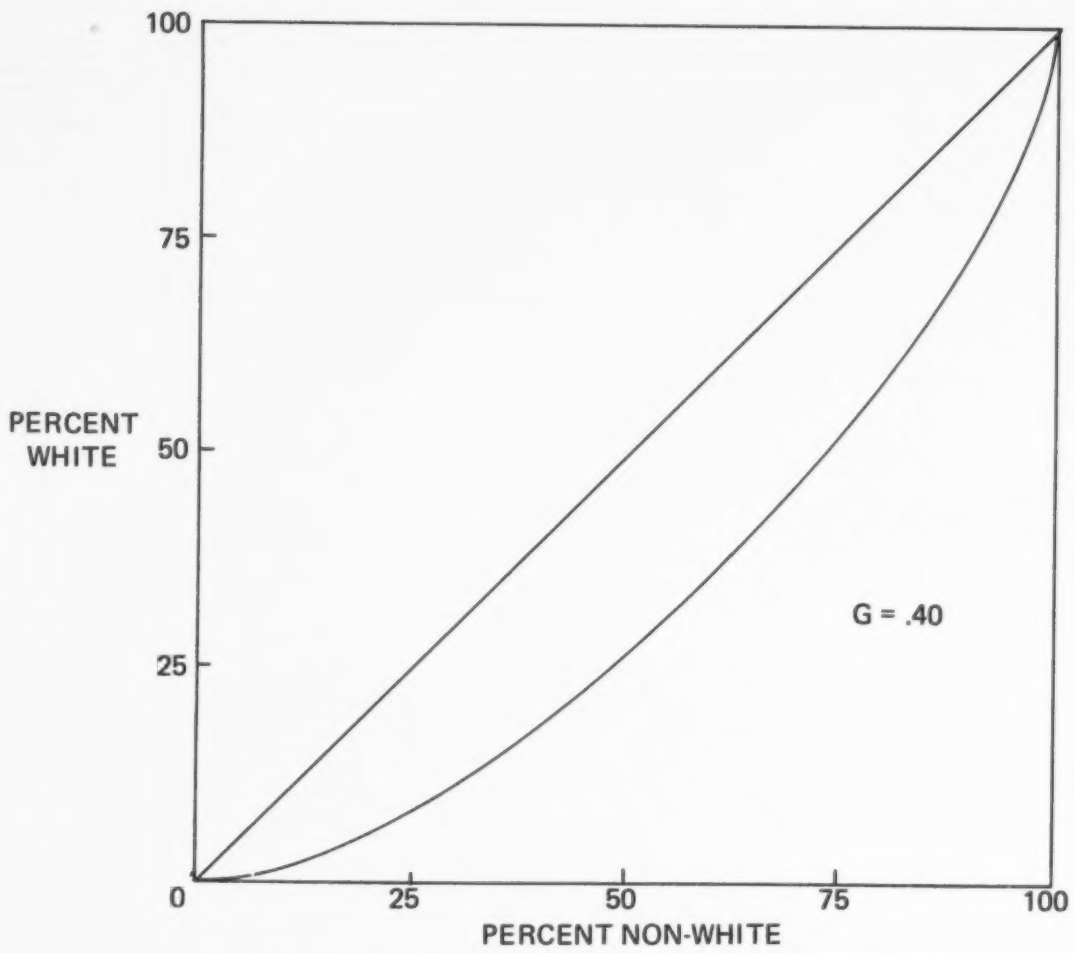

Figure 14. Curve of Ethnic Concentration in District 19.

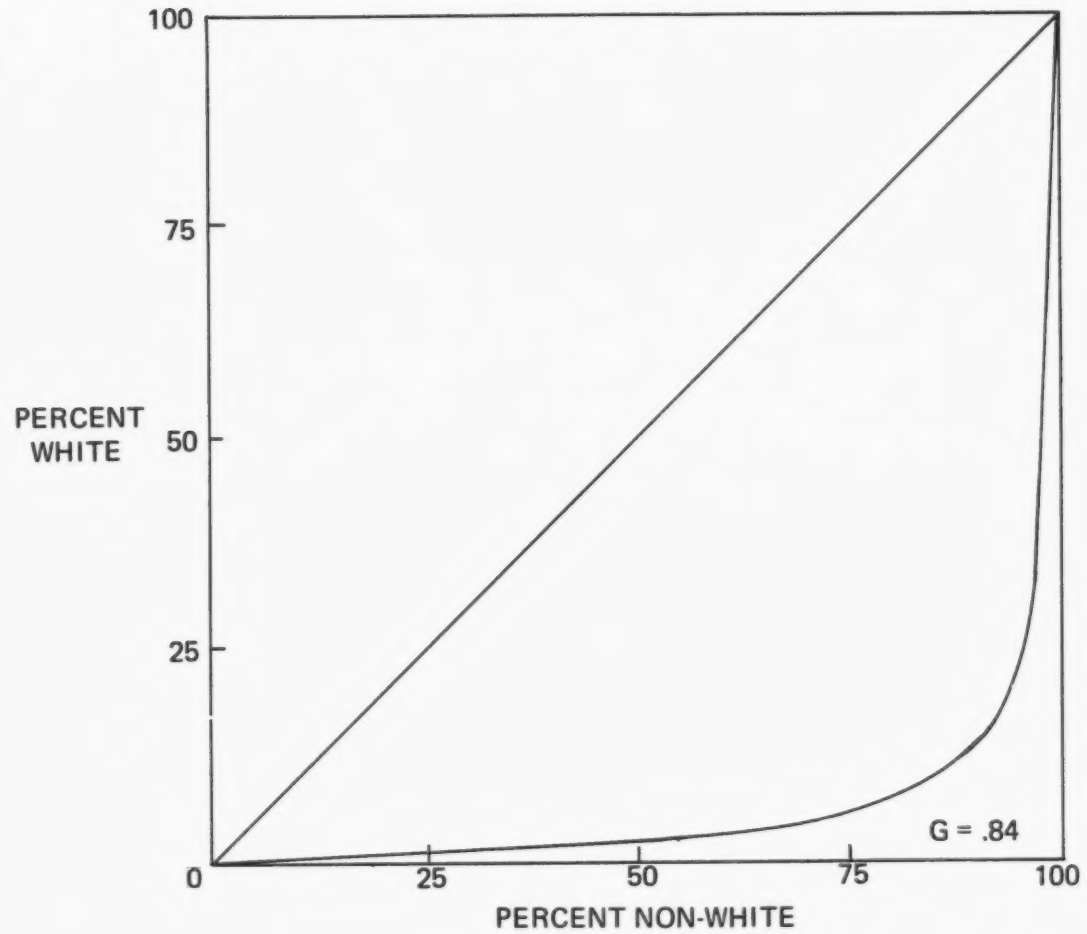

Figure 15. Curve of Ethnic Concentration in District 28.

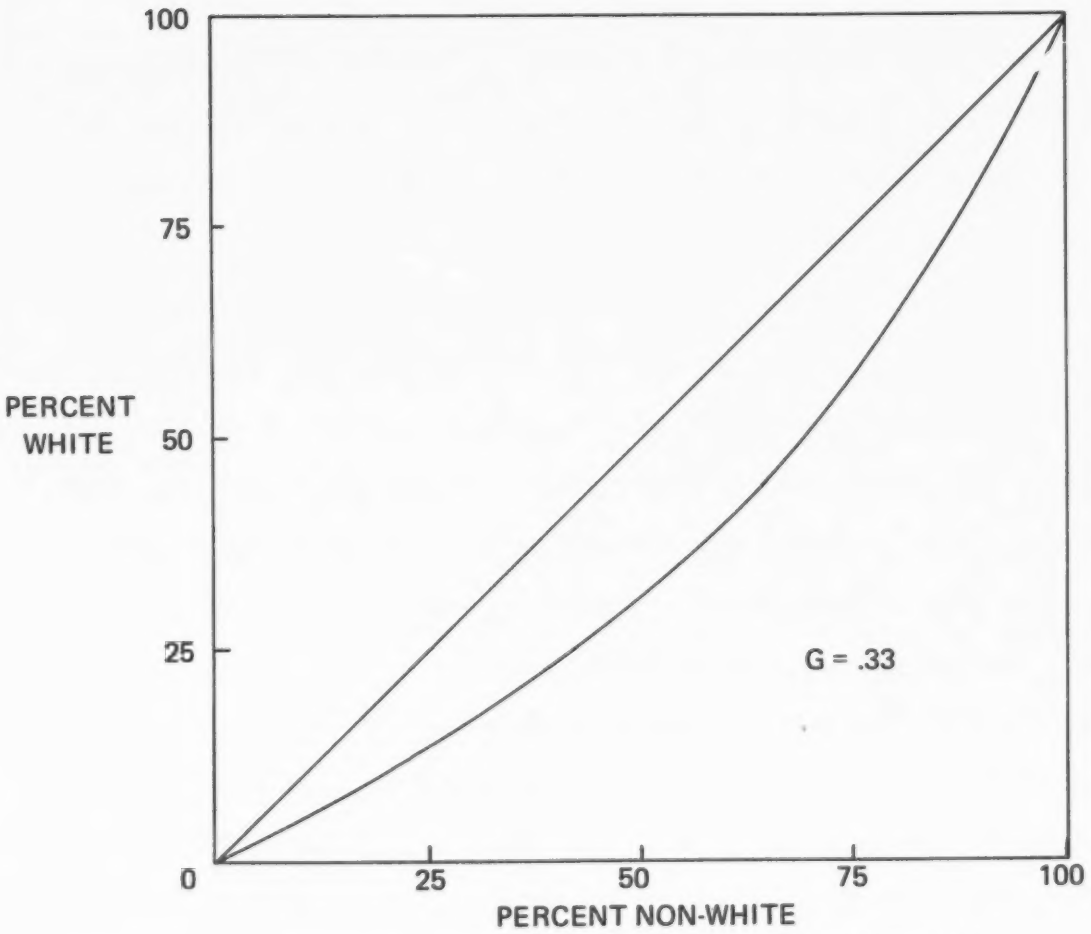

Figure 16. Curve of Ethnic Concentration in District 32.

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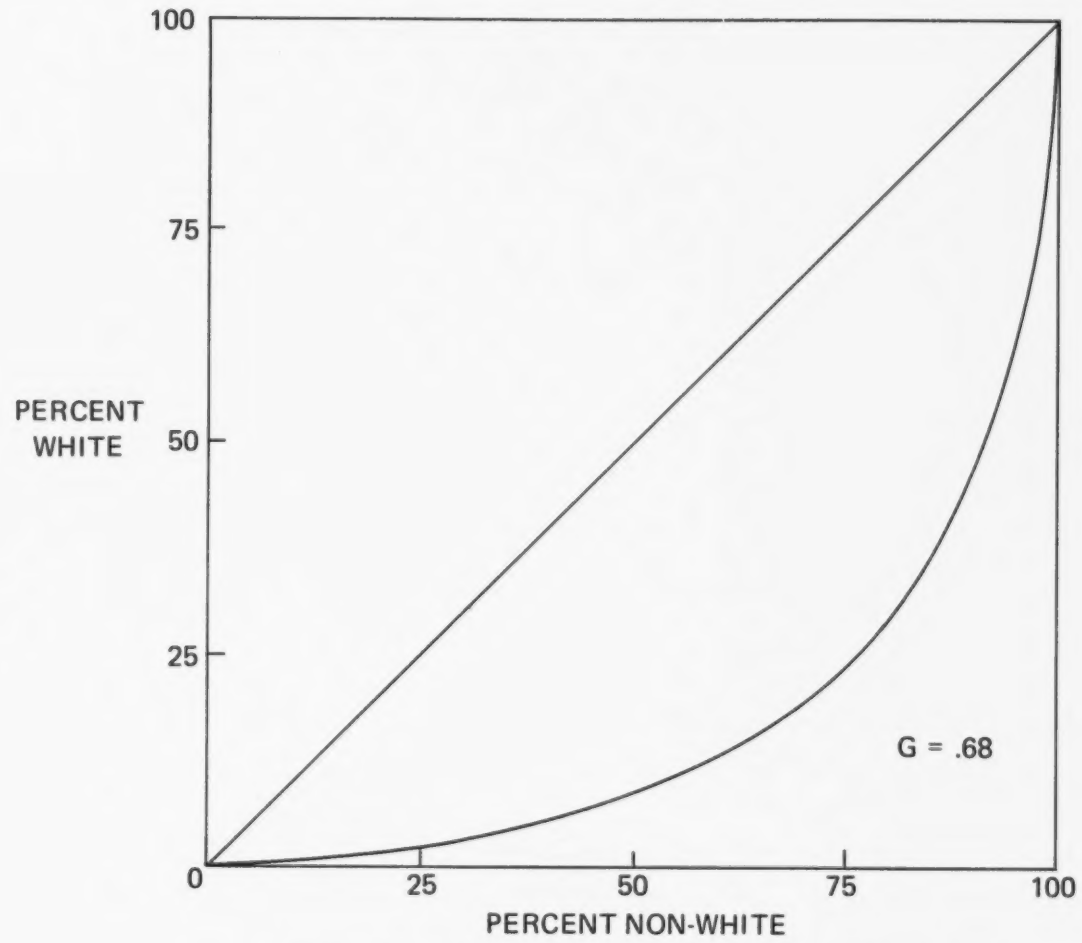

Figure 17. Curve of Ethnic Concentration in District 33.

The second step was completed as shown in Table 40. Here, a mean rank score was computed for each district over each variable in a cluster (now a dimension) and, in turn, a median was found for these means. When a dimension included only one variable, as in Dimension 3, the actual rank score and a median for these scores were used. All of these computations are labelled and shown in parenthesis in Table 40. If an entry was above the median for any dimension, a plus sign (+) was placed near it. Conversely, if an entry was below the median, a minus sign (-) was affixed to it. Using this convention with a three-factor (dimension) rule generates eight (2^3) possible types. Table 23 reveals that the ten CEC districts can be classified by only six of those types. Two of these types,(---) and (- + -), were not found in these districts. Those that were found are described directly below.

Type I (+++). This type of district has high rank on all three dimensions. This means that relative to all the other districts, there is a high proportion White as well as non-White and Puerto Rican. In addition non-Whites tend to be concentrated in small areas. Thus, the process of invasion, succession and replacement had not been

completed at the time when this data were recorded. At best, the population movement of non-Whites and Puerto Ricans into this district could be described as entering early stages of replacement. This fact is inferred from Table 28 which discloses that there was a higher proportion non-White than White in this district although, as mentioned above, both proportions were relatively high. The strong invasion and succession of non-Whites in this district brought with it a large number of children six years and under because of the high fertility rates in this group. Implicit in this event for educational programming is the need for community programs for preschoolers as well as their mothers. In addition, this event brought with it problems of health and youth dependency, which means that there were large numbers of people out of the labor force and most likely on welfare rolls. These remarks are well supported by the Tables described above. However, Table 41 reveals that there was only one district, District 16, that fitted this type.

Type II (++−). Districts that fell into this type were characterized by high mean-ranked scores both on the White and non-White-Puerto Rican Dimensions and a low ranked score on the Concentration Dimension. This means that these districts were either predominantly White, non-Whites or Puerto Rican with a low degree of ethnic concentration. Of the four districts that are described by this type in Table 41, i.e., Districts 4, 7, 19, and 32, two contained a greater percentage non-White, Districts 4 and 32, one district, 7, had more Puerto Ricans while the other district, 19, included more Whites. In terms of the three processes–invasion, succession and replacement–this type of district can be characterized as having entered later stages of succession. The fact that only in one district, 32, was there a majority non-White supports this inference. Moreover, because one ethnic group has not succeeded in replacing the other, the problems that would be normally unique to only one group are all prevailing. Thus, districts characterized by this type had high rates of infant mortality, venereal disease, high ratios of total youth and old age dependency and a high percentage of persons on Financial Assistance and Home Relief.

Type III (+−−). There was only one district which could be described according to this type and that was District 12. Following the description of the other two types, it can be said that mean-ranked scores were high on the non-White-Puerto Rican Dimension but low on the White and Concentration Dimensions. The finding held not so much for the predominance of non-Whites as for the relatively high percentage of

Puerto Ricans. It should be remembered that these are aggregate scores, which means that it is not so much a particularly named variable that was predominant as much as it was one of its neighboring members in the cluster or dimension. In fact, this type can be characterized as being found in districts which are entering stages of invasion for non-Whites but succession for Puerto Ricans. Whites, although present in a relatively high percentage, are in a minority vis-a-vis the non-White-Puerto Rican majority. Therefore, some of the problems peculiar to each group are present. That is, there was a low rate of infant mortality, which is uncharacteristic of non-White groups and more characteristic of White groups found in these districts. Moreover, a high old age dependency ratio, also descriptive of White groups, was disclosed in this type of district. Similarly, it was found that there was a high percentage of persons on Home Relief, characteristic of Puerto Rican groups and children in Assistance, descriptive of both non-White and Puerto Rican groups.

Type IV (––+). For this type of district the mean-ranked scores were low both for the White and non-White-Puerto Rican Dimension but was high for the Concentration Dimension. The situation implied by this type is characterized, in terms of the migratory processes, by succession for non-Whites and invasion for Puerto Ricans. It also implies that residential patterns of living are highly segregated, which leads to differential access to the amenities of urban living such as income, education and health. In short, the in-migration of non-Whites and, to a lesser extent, Puerto Ricans to this district and the out-migration of middle class Whites left basically two camps of inhabitants–lower class Whites with their problems of high rates of reported cases of venereal diseases, out-of-wedlock births and infant mortality. There were two districts that could be typed in this manner. They were Districts 13 and 28.

Type V (–++). Mean-ranked scores for this type of district are low on the non-White-Puerto Rican Dimension but high on both the White and Concentration Dimensions. There was only one district, 14, that could be described by this type and that district leads to some interesting findings. First of all, both non-Whites and Puerto Ricans are at later stages of invasion since they had not reached significant numbers at that time. This is more true for non-Whites than Puerto Ricans, who were apparently attracted to other areas in Brooklyn where non-Whites had established stronger residential settlements. Secondly, the problems encountered in this district were related to total youth and old age dependency. This means that many of the problems

for District 14 would be centered around the health and care of the aged, planning for the education and care for preschoolers as well as youth in school and the transferral of these youth into the labour force. Finally, there were, relative to other districts, very few problems which correlated with the non-White-Puerto Rican Dimensions, i.e., high infant mortality rates, Financial Assistance and Home Relief Rates.

Type VI (+–+). Only one district, 33, was classified under this type according to Table 41. The mean-ranked scores for this type of district were high both for the non-White-Puerto Rican and Concentration Dimensions and low for the White Dimensions. It is clear from all the data that this district exemplifies the process of replacement of Whites by non-Whites and Puerto Ricans. In this way, the problems that prevail in District 33 are those which are typically displayed by the two groups in all the other districts. However, since these groups are so highly concentrated in this district, these problems become more magnified and consequently are more likely to be encountered even by the least interested observer. The problems of infant mortality, venereal disease, out-of-wedlock births and youth dependency, have been mentioned above in describing problems peculiar to the non-White-Puerto Rican group in other districts. Suffice it to say that any type of effective programming, whether it be educational or rehabilitative, should be created around these problems.

TABLE 40

District Type By Rank On Three Dimensions

District	Type	Dimension		
		1 (6)[a]	2 (6)[a]	3 (5.5)[b]
4	II	+ (6)[c]	+ (6)[c]	- (5)[d]
33	VI	+ (6)	- (3)	+ (8)
7	II	+ (6)	+ (6)	- (1)
12	III	+ (6)	- (5)	- (3)
13	IV	- (5)	- (5)	+ (7)
14	V	- (3)	+ (6)	+ (6)
16	I	+ (6)	+ (6)	+ (9)
19	II	+ (6)	+ (8)	- (4)
32	II	+ (8)	+ (6)	- (2)
28	IV	- (1)	- (3)	+ (10)

a) These scores under dimensions and in parentheses are median of mean-ranked scores.

b) This is a median of ranked scores.

c) The scores in these columns are mean-ranked scores.

d) The scores in this column are actual ranked scores.

Summary and Conclusion

For any type of planned intervention into the social and environmental conditions of people as exemplified in C.E.C. programming, demographic events and processes are real and imminent. Consequently, the processes of in-and-out migration and their accompanying stages of invasion, succession and replacement must be taken into consideration for the development of strategies for planned and effective change. It does not matter whether the strategy is educational or rehabilitative or even called by some other name, the requirements are still the same. Those persons who intend to bring about these changes must be attuned to the dynamics and exigencies of demographic events. This is not accomplished by a mere count of heads or by some arbitrary cross-tabulation or cross-classification of events but by the development of systematic and general approaches to this area.

In this chapter we have attempted to develop this type of approach, the result of which were the six types developed above. The types are certainly not the last word in the demographic analysis of the ten C.E.C. districts, but they are useful guidelines for the development of programming or other typologies which could serve the same purpose. At any rate, the typologies should be generated in such a manner that they describe the conditions that deserve attention and suggest some mode of remedying those problems. To be effective, these typologies should be constructed with the use of current demographic statistics. In non-census years, this would mean conducting an "Educational Survey" to assess local community needs.

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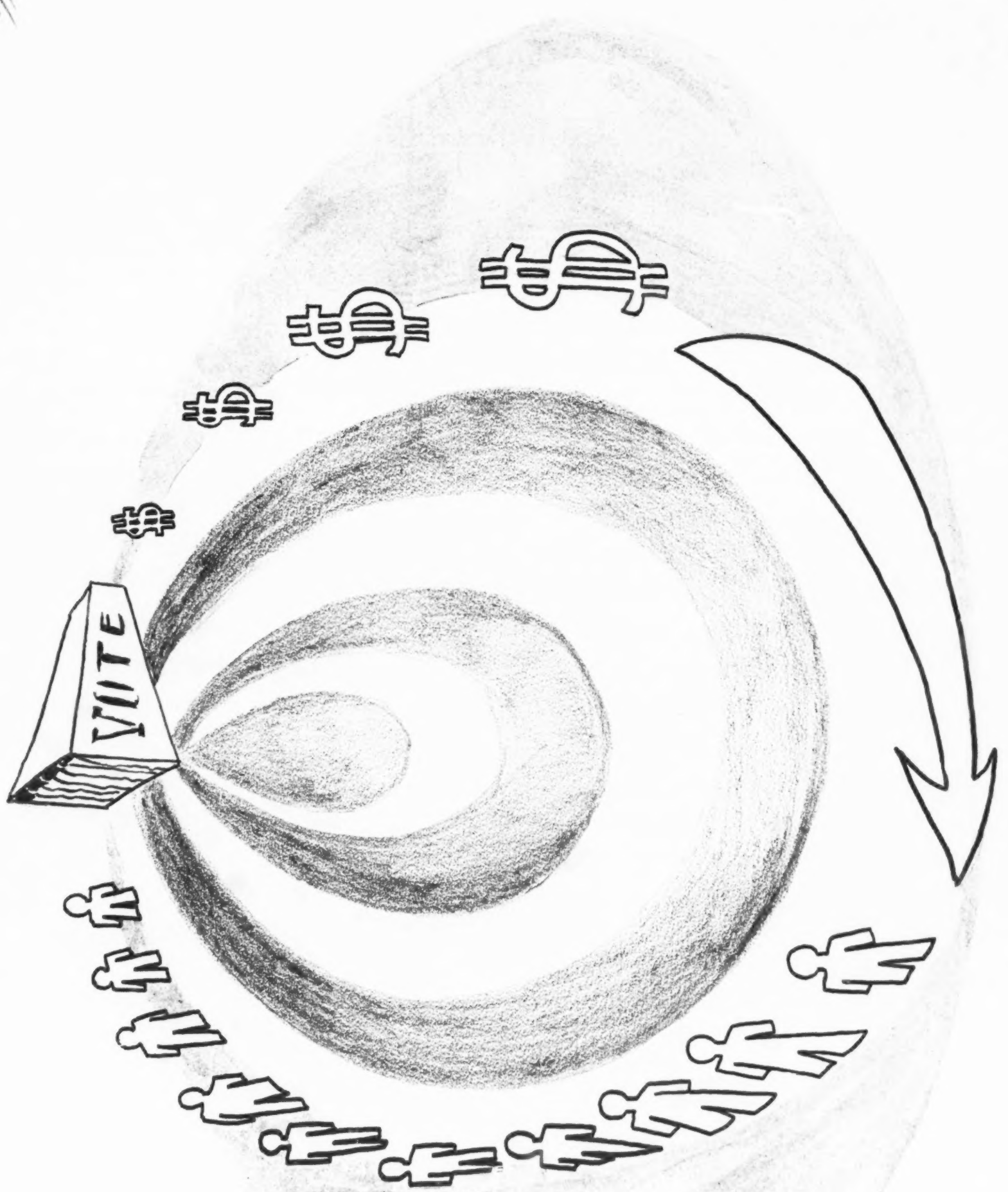


VI
POLITICAL PROCESSES

This section will deal with the politics of the CEC on two levels: macro-politics–the external factors that led to the evolution of community programs, and micro-politics–the internal organization and distribution of resources and power. In the case of the former, social philosophies, political organization and the tenor of the times will be examined in relationship to the organization of community projects. In the latter case, the decision making process, methods of involvement, allocation of resources and adjudication of principles will be discussed within the formal CEC structure.

Development of Centers and Projects

CEC developed as a concept and ultimately a program because of internal community pressure and resultant political reaction. The community pressure was a function of incremental dismay with the perceived ineffectiveness of the Board of Education to provide "satisfactory" education for low-income children. The political reaction was related to the legislators' desire for continued constituent endorsement and attempts to keep inflamed community sentiments within "acceptable" limits. Under these conditions aid can be interpreted as a reciprocal political exchange in which the communities get some financial assistance and political leaders are able to maintain relatively high levels of support. Although Chester Barnard has indicated that "authority is another name for the willingness and capacity of individuals to submit to the necessities of cooperative systems," the authority of the state legislature appears to emanate more from its symbiotic relationship with impacted areas than its willingness to cooperate with the residents of these districts.

Disjunction Between Local Problems and Project Proposals

In the original CEC proposal passed by the State Regents two very specific recommendations were cited: community participation and programs designed to mitigate community problems. However, the evidence suggests that there are significant differences between conception and implementation.

Within each District the CEC projects were to be designed to provide compensatory programs for and supplemental services to the school system. But in the

political process of instituting this idea some project proposals were accepted that had little relationship to local problems or were so modified that they had no similarity to their original purpose. For example, in District 7 which has the highest rate of narcotics addiction in the country,* not one program was approved to cope with this problem (See Table 18 in Chapter IV). Although the reasons for this disjunction cannot be given with certitude, there are several political factors that may account for it. The Advisory Board in many Districts (See Table 25 in Chapter IV) is not representative of community sentiment. Since members are often chosen by the District Superintendent of schools, their views are very often more influenced by his opinions, and the sanctions he imposes, than by obvious community needs. Similarly, the acceptance of project proposals is sometimes the function of reciprocal exchanges. In order for one Advisory Board member to receive acceptance of a particular project he often has to support, against his better judgment, the proposals of other members. Under these circumstances several proposals that should have been given low priority were accepted. Last, it is evident that the administrative staff is often eager to initiate programs that will have "exposure" which demonstrates their "community concern." However, maintaining an image should not be given higher priority than providing effective services to ease the District's most obvious problems.

Relationship of Titles I and III with CEC

When in 1968 the U.S. Office of Education granted New York City Title III funds for planning Community Education Centers, the link between Title III and CEC was firmly established. Furthermore, the Title III Regional Center was given the responsibility of administering funds in accordance with the usual guidelines. Although a proposed Title III project—Centers for Total Education—was not funded, the concept was revived when another proposal capturing the idea of Community Education Centers was submitted to the Office of Education in 1968. Because the essential feature of "Centers for Total Education" were retained in the CEC proposal, it has been argued that CEC was its "direct descendent."

Since Title I programs represent the cooperative effort of many community agencies concerned with compensatory education, it was natural that their guidelines would serve as a model for the CEC proposals, as well as the method for administering funds. This explains in part why clear lines of differentiation in theory and practice

*Bronx, Point and the South Bronx have the highest confirmed rate of narcotics abuse in the United States according to the report of the New York State Narcotic Addiction Control Commission, 1965.

among Title I, Title III grants and State Urban Education funds are virtually nonexistent. Theoretically, Title I was designed to provide programs for "educationally deprived children in low-income areas;" Title III was constituted "to improve education by enabling a community to provide services not now available to the children who live there and to initiate innovative projects in the central cities, while the CEC was created to capture the spirit of both Titles I and III, since it initially provided both supplementary educational assistance and community services.

It seems logical to assume that the CEC proposal emerged from the failure of the Title III proposal–Centers for Total Education–to get funded. After modifying its original ideas to incorporate the then widespread interest for community participation in planning and development, the City Board of Education received a one year planning grant which, as was already noted, led directly to the planning of the first four Community Education Centers.

Since the history of the grants converge, it is doubtful that CEC has developed a distinctive character. In fact, many community residents and even CEC staff see no difference in the alleged reorganization. Precedents created by Titles I and III were followed, in many cases without reconsideration, by those involved in the CEC Program. For example, the mandated participation of District Superintendents in the planning phase of Title III proposals and previous Title I projects was adopted operationally in the CEC proposals.

Differences in Initiation and Control

Although very similar in conception, Title I, Title III and CEC programs do differ, albeit marginally, in the area of initiation and control of programs. Title I projects, while attempting to complement the regular school program, made no pretense about being controlled and initiated by the Board of Education. Notwithstanding ambiguously worded proposals, it was clear that the powers of selection of programs and responsibility for staffing and operating them resided in the offices of the Board of Education. Decentralization was recognized only as a concept to identify the target population. Title III clearly recognized the need to tap innovative proposals in local communities, while assuming concurrently that joint community-Board of Education responsibilities could be assigned without confusion. In this case, projects were initiated by local Districts but control remained with the Board. This way built

recognition of the growing demand for community participation could be made without jeopardizing the Board of Education's political influence which comes from its fiscal responsibilities and administrative procedures. CEC, theoretically, was the most innovative of the three grants since it permitted the greatest degree of control in the daily operation of these projects. But in this case, the theory diverged from the practice. Since budgetary requests still must be made to the Board and since administrative procedures, including everything from site locations to equipment requisitions, are submitted to the Board, the theoretical freedom of local areas implied in the CEC legislation was frustrated by the administrative units controlling the funds.

Significantly the projects emerging from all three grants are very much the same, indicating to some extent that *the agent controlling the projects, directly or indirectly, influence their character.* It also suggests that once funds are introduced into a local community for a specific purpose, it is often accepted that its residents will continue to receive those funds as long as that purpose has not been ignored. To rescind such funds, while local community residents perceive that obligations are being met, is to create a ground swell of community resentment that would be politically intolerable. It should also be pointed out that even on those occasions when the community does not adhere to the specific purpose for which funds were provided, the fear of reprisals from special interest groups, if retrenchment were instituted, constrains any legislative or local administrative action and thus programs are perpetuated with little alteration in operation.* This explains in part why government agencies continue to seek ways of sustaining programs that have not demonstrated traditional indicators of effective results, e.g., increased achievement scores, decreased behavioral problems.

It also should be pointed out that since some evaluation reports from Title I, Title III, and CEC (See report of projects in Volume II) suggest that data are not available to determine the effectiveness of some programs, the critical nature of political implications in the initiation and control of programs can not be ignored. Revealing the consequence of this situation might frustrate administrators, but in the long run might provide local projects with a chance to demonstrate their potential effectiveness. It further suggests as a corollary that the highest priorities in evaluating programs should be demographic data, discernible educational achievement and community services, relationships between special interest groups and different levels

*It should be noted that the conclusion is also supported by the fact that plans for conducting the CEC program during the coming year were completed prior to receiving the evaluation report suggesting what changes might be instituted.

of operation. Since political considerations contain factors that may be correlated with project effectiveness in ways that are not easily determined or clearly understood, political considerations in selecting projects should, to the extent possible, be minimized.

Relationship Between the Board of Education, the State Department of Education, and the CEC Program

In any analysis of political processes one has to examine the formal as well as the informal relationships that constitute politics. On the formal level the State Board of Education initiated funding, interpreted legislation and approved initial proposals. The City Board of Education was the administrative unit for the dissemination of funds and the approval of proposals and operational program components, e.g., equipment requisitions.

On the informal level specific responsibilities cannot be discerned. Representatives of the State Board of Education have given verbal consent to proposals only to have the City Board reverse the decision (See Documents, Volume III). Some financial policies and administrative procedures adopted by the City Board have on occasion been inconsistent with the *de facto* guidelines established by the State. Verbal assurances on a range of issues have very frequently been contradicted by the perceived guidelines of the other agency, e.g., the Board of Education or the State Department of Education. It is axiomatic for political scientists that when in the transaction of sensitive political issues there is no formal policy or a line of authority, decisions will gravitate to those most willing to make them or to those in the bureaucracy, who because of circumstances, are forced to make them, even when those individuals lack the knowledge to make effective choices. As a corollary, one should also note that in the absence of formal policy, an informal and usually unpredictable network of decision-making will be substituted that relies on personal and often arbitrary judgments. It is this very informal and arbitrary system that is the source of hostility, at the very least, and conflict when the preceived stakes are raised. Under the existing arrangement the rights and duties of those involved in the CEC are undefined and continually changing. This is a primary source of dismay and distrust and one of the factors that accounts for a precarious contractual bond between school and community. Peter Blau observed that "Value consensus is of crucial significance for

social processes that pervade complex social structures, because standards commonly agreed upon serve as mediating links for social transactions between individuals and groups without any direct contact." *In the case of the CEC operation, value consensus of either the formal or informal variety was not established and the mediating links that moderate the potential hostility in sensitive political relationships served to exacerbate the very tension they were designed to prevent.*

Appointment of Key Personnel and Other Participants

Since guidelines were never clearly established and limits on personal authority never defined, hiring practices were obscured by the same ambiguity affecting other aspects of the program. Advertising for jobs was done sporadically; key members of the operation, including District Coordinators, were often independently selected by the District Superintendent; candidates for Certificates of Competency were at times treated capriciously; some U.F.T. members interpreted the CEC as an afternoon center which would afford teachers supplementary income; in a couple of cases Advisory Board members were directly selected by the District Superintendent and in several instances a school principal decided which candidates would be acceptable for a project housed in his school. That these conditions could result is a reflection of the general lack of integration of planning and program structure into the total pattern of the school system and a lack of specific policy directives for the operation of the CEC.

With this general ambiguity in the CEC guidelines, special interest groups who vie for greater rewards have evolved within the existing school structure. This accounts, in part, for the different and mutually exclusive view of the CEC held by all those participating directly, e.g., the New York City Public School System, the State Department of Education and the CEC Staff, and many of those community residents who want more extensive involvement in the operation.

Community Involvement in Centers and Projects

The very title Community Education Centers infers quite explicitly the expectation of direct community participation. In fact, CEC ostensibly differs from the proposed Centers for Total Education by emphasizing "full community participation" in planning and developing programs. Yet the phrase "full community participation" is subject to varied interpretations. With no clear statement of what constitutes participation the phrase seemingly is designed to capture the rhetorical flourish of the

moment. "Full community participation," as opposed to representation, is not a real possibility. The constraints of job, family, personal ambition and available time operate to inhibit full participation in any community. In addition, a community, especially a so-called ghetto area, is in continuous flux. Racial and ethnic composition is continually changing. Similarly, most communities are diverse in many ways even when there is a common bond, vis. Central Harlem may be primarily a Black community, but it has considerable socio-economic diversity. And as a tangential factor it is noteworthy that diversity among local residents has inhibited the organization necessary to represent, even in a rudimentary way, basic interest of organized groups. Without the organization necessary to exert political pressure, a stable population, or a group with mutual interests, participation often seems perfunctory and full community participation an exercise in frustrated expectations.

Level and Quality of Involvement

1. Number of People Involved at Each Level

Involvement in the case of the CEC refers to the community residents either involved actively in the planning operation and monitoring of projects or indirectly through their avowed interest in and attendance at CEC meetings. In either case numbers are deceiving. For the most part local residents not officially connected with CEC are unaware of its program. It is only when that program affects them or their family that concern is engendered. In most cases these residents were not consulted when the original proposals were made, even when they were invited to community meetings whose expressed purpose was the discussion of proposals. It is axiomatic for most local residents that those involved in proposal design are "politically sophisticated," and more attuned to what is acceptable to the authorities. This view is reinforced by the fact that those residents involved in Title I proposals were involved in Title III and CEC proposals–a situation that is not likely to encourage wider participation.

It has also been observed that local residents are usually not hired for the professional staff. Since certain skills are required for professionals due to mandated competency requirements, it is often unreasonable to assume that many local residents facing cultural deprivation will be prepared to occupy these jobs, or that the general conditions of the area will encourage those with the necessary skills to settle there.

Nonetheless, these are considerations that diminish community participation and interest.

2. Kind of Involvement

In most cases community participation in the CEC is manifested through the Advisory Board. But here, too, participation is obscured by the manner in which the Board is chosen. It stands to reason that Board selection by the District Superintendent, however scrupulous his choices, is less likely to evoke community interest than in election. Similarly, a Board that acts as a "rubber stamp" for the District Coordinator or for the District Superintendent is likely to be adjudged suspect by many community residents.

Participation in the planning itself was seen by government administrators as a way of mobilizing local sentiment. It was anticipated that local agencies would come to grips with their programmatic insularity in the process of planning community wide projects and local residents would begin to unburden themselves from a condition of "social paralysis" through CEC planning. But when participation was restricted either by community apathy or the selective mobilization of those with political understanding, these goals were often thwarted. In some Districts participation is related to interests and interest is related to influence. When interest and influence were minimal, participation waned. When interest is generated through effective communication, participation should increase. But participation cannot be sustained unless interest is complemented by influence. And this is the rub. Many residents believe that even though "community participation" is advanced to deal with their presumed powerlessness their participatory options and influences are limited. Influence is usually reserved for the outspoken, the politically sophisticated and those who threaten violence which, generally, excludes the bulk of the target population.

3. Intensity of Involvement

When communities have had the experience of developing a separate authority over a school District, e.g., I.S. 201 and Ocean Hill Brownsville, they are usually better prepared to involve local residents in a range of activities. This practice was borne out in I.S. 201 in particular. There, community residents have been trained and sensitized to be active and perceptive participants. A premium has been placed not only on involvement but on constructive involvement. In fact, some residents are encouraged to

accept instruction in the evaluation of programs; it is this kind of instruction that very often makes them more perceptive observers.

When community residents are asked to participate in a planning program many go through ritualistic attendance at a meeting. However, it is usually only those few who understand the assignment, can cope with it mentally and physically and believe it to be consistent with their own and perceived community values whose participation is prolonged and contributory. Empirically, intensity of involvement is directly related to evidence of personal concern. In most CEC Districts there has not been sufficient time or effort expended in eliciting participation; but in those Districts where community resources have been mobilized for other issues, residents already feel assured that local administrators have a genuine community concern.

Political Ramifications of Neighborhood v. Community Associations

Ferdinand Tonnies distinguished what for many sociologists is the classic dichotomy between neighborhood and community*: *gessellschaft* and *gemeinschaft*. In the case of the former, life is predicated on contractual arrangements; most associations are impersonal and social interaction is protected by a rational-legal system. In the latter, social arrangements are dependent on concern for one's neighbor; most associations are intimate and solicitude, as opposed to obligation, is the touchstone of social interation. Clearly *gesellschaft* is synonymous with neighborhood, a geographic unit defined by higher authorities; while *gemeinschaft* is more closely related to community. Life and purpose are built around a mutual regard for local institutions.

In New York City, however, there is considerable confusion surrounding the concepts. Decentralization is a concept designed to encourage local residents to assert their will throughout the public sector. It is a term that implicitly promises self-respect and "self-determination." In the 1960's it came to be associated with Black Power, Spanish Power and Third World Power. But it was not only "progressives" who advocated decentralization. Lower and middle income whites who live in fear and resentment of Blacks and their encroaching ghetto want to maintain "their" neighborhoods. Thus decentralization has had almost universal appeal.

How to divide power to accommodate recently assertive groups is still the critical question. Afterall, what is a community? One thing that is known is that a

*The terms neighborhood and community are often used interchangeably, but the formal definition above will be used throughout this section and is taken from F. Tonnies, *Community and Society* and C. Bidou (ed.) *Social Science and Community Action*.

community or *gemeinschaft* is the social organism to which individuals relate in varying degrees of harmony. It is a unit small enough to discourage isolation yet large enough to precipitate political action. But after this is noted, where can a model be found in New York? Most New York neighborhoods are interdependent; they are not isolated, self-sufficient communities. Most neighborhoods, even if given some political autonomy, would still be part of larger political units, e.g., the city, state and federal governments, which unless they evanesce, will maintain a permanent check on the community. Most "natural" neighborhoods identified by ethnic, class or functional clusters are continually shifting because of the thrust of social mobility. With these considerations in mind it is almost impossible to define "community" and arbitrary to define "neighborhood" in New York City.

Still, the task is being tackled by administrators, as the CEC districts testify. Communities, coterminously school districts, have been selected for CEC funds. But in some cases these are local areas with transient populations held together by little more than geographic propinquity. The exceptions, Ocean Hill Brownsville and I.S. 201, became communities as opposed to neighborhoods, through their effort to obtain autonomy over their respective school districts. In the struggle, values were so exaggerated as ideals that those individuals working closely with each other produced a shared sense of community, a new "psychic life"–to use Emile Durkheim's phrase. Concurrently, the struggle and the resultant accomplishments developed a commitment to the community that went well beyond the bounds of normal community indentification.

Robert Merton writing about "Social Structure and Anomie" noted that there is a three-fold distinction in the cultural structure:

> "First, there are the cultural goals–the wants or aspirations that men are taught by their culture. Second, there are the norms prescribing the means that men may legitimately employ in the pursuit of these goals. Third, there is the actual distribution of the facilities and opportunities for achieving the cultural goals in a manner compatible with the norms. These are the institutionalized means. They are the objective conditions of action."

The actual sense of frustration does not depend on any one of these, but on the relationship among them. A disjunction between goals and institutionalized means develops because of a contradiction in the legitimate institutionalized means created to satisfy cultural goals. "This disjunction between goals and means," contends Merton,

". . . leads to a weakening of man's commitment to the culturally prescribed goals or institutionalized means–that is, to a state of anomie."

In the case of I.S. 201 and Ocean-Hill Brownsville, the disjunction between goals and means that characterized social behavior and resulted in anomie was dramatically overturned by the struggle for "community schools." The common cause against the so-called Establishment developed a solidarity that was not based on racial considerations alone, although the ethnic congruence helped. It is this factor that helps to explain why participation in those two areas has been more intense and probably why community involvement is accurately employed only in reference to these Districts.

Role of Community Agencies in Centers

Despite a specific mandate in the CEC proposal "to design a program which would identify and coordinate the wide variety of agencies presently available and providing services to those created to fill voids," there has been relatively little direct association between CEC units and local agencies. In some communities CEC projects employ agency aides and in still others community agents have offered direction to the CEC program. But in general these associations are informal and tentative.

Role of the Advisory Board in Generating Projects

According to the State Urban Education guidelines the Advisory Boards were to include "persons from community agencies familiar with the needs of youth and adults in disadvantaged areas." In many cases this prescription was followed, especially when a formula for *selecting* the Board was established. However, it was noted by several administrators that agency officials acted as a lobby group on the Advisory Board and supported those projects directly related to their own agencies. There is little documented evidence that bears this out, but it is a contentious issue that warrants further investigation. Similarly, some residents doubt the veracity of having agencies represented on the Advisory Board when these very same bodies are perceived as not adequately carrying out their own community responsibilities. On this matter, there are strident voices, but it is virtually impossible to tell if they are representative voices.

Reciprocity and Exchange in Power Relationships

In his analysis of power relationships Peter Blau observed the equalizing force of reciprocity and exchange or, if you prefer, action and counteraction. In the process of social exchange people obtaining benefits from others are obliged to reciprocate in order to balance the service provided. If you do not reciprocate, you are ungrateful—a social stigma that has its own sanctions. If you extend assistance without overt reciprocity you may still have expectations of social approval and reward. If you extend a service to someone who cannot reciprocate that person receiving aid can: force you to give help; get help elsewhere; get along without your help or subordinate himself and reward the giver with power over himself.

The CEC in conception and practice illustrates the validity of these propositions. Conceptually, CEC was designed to extend community participation and provide needed services. It was an obvious attempt to deal with the marginal men Robert Park described as "condemned to live in two societies and in two, not merely different but antagonistic, cultures." But this was done with very clear expectations. The defection of liberals from the coalition that held the Democratic Party together for three decades led to a concern for new political alliances. Likewise, liberal Republicans such as John Lindsay without Republican endorsement sought alternative sources of support. With "old liberals" rapidly becoming extinct, untapped political sources in Black and Puerto Rican communities were "recruited." This accommodation took the form of encouraging more community control. Depending on one's ideological posture this could be interpreted as expanding a political constituency or "cooling" a potentially explosive situation—two views that are not necessarily incompatible. For example, it has been argued that, "Through the Poverty Program and the Urban Action Task Forces, Linday built an extensive network of contacts in the ghettos. . ."* It was this network that undoubtedly assisted his re-election in 1969 and which reinforced the expected reciprocity in the form of financial aid and grants.

Several other considerations helped to influence the climate in which "community control" and community projects were instituted. One of these was the emergence of a Black Power movement with political cadres advocating control of their "own" institutions. Although the relationship between community projects and the movements discussed an essay more extensive than can be written here, it should be noted, at

*See *Public Interest*, Summer, 1969, p. 158

the risk of *post hoc* fallacy charges, that federally funded projects do employ very large numbers of "new leaders," in what can only be described as a form of cooptation. The presumptive reciprocity is that jobs-money-responsibility will increase the desire for potential disrupters to accomodate and maintain institutional stability. For any political observer the relationship is obviously drawn, but what remains unsaid is the political dimension that sustains reciprocity. If politicians depend on stability–that is to say "taking credit" for stability–in order to maintain political support, they will have to pay for it in a way that is only superficially legitimate. However, once that decision is made, future action is immutable. George Homan's perspicaciously argued, "The more often . . . an activity emitted under particular stimulus–conditions has been rewarded, the more anger will be displayed . . . when the same activity, emitted under similar conditions, goes without its reward, precedents are always turning into rights."[6] The CEC grant is one expression of this kind of reinforcement that maintains political–community reciprocity.

The CEC–Public School System relationship is a function of reciprocal exchanges on another, less agreeable, level. Since the system serves as the legitimate agent for distributing funds for any educationally related programs, CEC cannot exist without it. Yet the system's administration is perceived as so woefully inadequate that the CEC cannot operate effectively with it. (See illustrations of this in Chapters VII and VIII.) *Symbolically, representatives of the system are suggesting that communities receiving funds subordinate themselves to the funding agent, while community leaders view the funds as a legitimate exchange for stability and political favors and view the Board bureaucracy as an unnecessary intrusion.* With different perceptions of reciprocity and exchange neither CEC leaders nor the Board share similar views of authority or common goals–a situation that perpetuates mutual suspicion and opposition. Peter Blau wrote, "Social solidarity rests on the homogeneity of some attributes, notably beliefs . . . and reciprocal relations in which social support is exchanged among them."[7] Too often in the CEC–Public School system relationship, beliefs are not shared, social support is not offered, albeit this is subject to interpretation, and the minimal conditions for mutually acceptable exchanges are not evident. Moreover, the factors that determine effective authority–the nature of commands and the nature of the person giving an order–are not present. CEC leaders often find directives inconsistent and arbitrary and, partially as a result of past history and present indecisiveness,

perceive those giving the orders as "incompetent." As long as this condition prevails and is complemented by circumspection about every administrative detail, directives, even those that are reasonable, will be viewed as irrational and reciprocal exchanges will be similarly irrational.

Another issue obstructing the equilibrium of supply and demand in social exchange are the attempts to maintain vested interests. In order to preserve these interests, or, at the very least, moderate outside interference, coalitions have been organized to defend the school system from attack. It is these very same coalitions, e.g. Pulbic school administrators and the U.F.T., which can act to influence the character and direction of the CEC. Even though these coalitions are often ephemeral, they exist so long as they show a mutual concern about the challenge to their authority and influence. Concurrently, a school organization does extend "membership" to potentially hostile groups in order to have them under its leadership. This kind of cooptation and its consequent interference in relatively reciprocal social exchanges is at least one way of interpreting the CEC–Public School system relationship. In a similar way, bargaining, especially when the negotiations involve unequals, oftens leads to a change in proposals that are more acceptable to the giver than the receiver. It has been argued, for example, that the Bundy proposal to decentralize New York City schools was modified and made less objectionable to those influential groups that would be most affected by it.* In this contest social exchanges tend to exaggerate rather than diminish the power between those who have and those who are seeking authority. And as demands escalate, intolerance often characterizes the behavior of both groups; an intolerance, on the one hand, borne of weakness that acknowledges power and, on the other, of fear that acknowledges potential interference from the seekers of power.

*See the argument of H. L. Miller and R. R. Woock in *Social Foundations of Urban Education*, p. 379

VII
ASSESSMENT

When one attempts to make an assessment of a total program, care must be exercised in establishing the perspective on which the conclusions are based. All programs can be viewed in terms of two major perspectives–*conception* and *perception*. The conception of a program deals with the mental impression of the overall design or plan of the idea to be implemented. On the other hand, the *perception* of a program deals with an individual's or group's awareness or interpretation of an idea, design or plan before and after it is operational. In the former instance, judgments are based on the logical consistency of the programs' design and implementation procedures with regard to stated objectives. In the latter instance, judgments are based on the expressed opinions of individuals with varying degrees of involvement and responsibility. Even though a study of both perspectives is necessary for a thorough evaluation, it is difficult to draw accurate conclusions when the two areas are not clearly delineated prior to the collection of data.

After the major perspectives of an evaluation study are determined, it is necessary to decide how information concerning them will be assessed. This step is related, in part, to the conception of assessment that is employed. With this in mind assessment is thought of as a systematic process determining the essential value of intended and stated CEC objectives. This view also includes the use of a *quantitative* and *qualitative* description of participants compiled with value judgments about the *relative* and *absolute* worth of observations made regarding the program they received. Using these basic concepts as a starting point, a general assessment of CEC operations follows:

THE CONCEPTION

It is readily apparent that there was great continuity with regard to the conception of the CEC Program as expressed in the Statement of the Regents of the University of the State of New York, the Guidelines for New York State Urban Education Program, the New York City Title III proposal (p. 243) for operating Community Education Centers, and the results of meetings with and surveys of selected community residents. (See Figure 18.) During the planning stage there was

general agreement concerning the characteristics of the CEC Program. Some of these conceptual characteristics will be discussed within the context of two major areas–level of participation and program.

Level of Participation

In the Regents' statement, level of participation was viewed as a pattern that provided the means for facilitating educational and social planning among . . . "parents and community leaders, local and state officials." (See Regents' statement, p. 11.) The general and overriding opinion expressed by this body was that the planning of programs for each CEC would . . . "be determined in large part by community representatives . . . (so that the) needs of employment, health, recreation, counseling, family services, and education *for all groups of the community* might be met through direct contact and at the center or by coordinated referral." (See Regents' statement, p. 10.) The clear intent of Community Education Centers, . . . "was to coordinate the wide ranges of local, state and Federal government programs and private programs . . . *from the point of view of the participants* . . . (with) new projects (being) developed for their specific interests." (See Regents' statement, p. 10.) The concept portrayed by Regents' statement had the CEC strengthening, " . . . parent interest in education and the sense of community and neighborhood participation in education . . . " (See Regents' statement, p. 6.)

The conception of the CEC Program as expressed in the Guidelines issued by the New York State Education Department followed the general idea of participation that was outlined in the Regents' statement. This is apparent in the directive calling for neighborhood and community participation in the governance and formulation of educational programs. The State Guidelines reaffirmed the position that a wide range of local, state, and federal programs and services should be provided and coordinated *from the point of view of the participants*. The State Education Department conceived the level of participation as an active and equal partnership between community residents and school personnel as it related to planning, developing and implementing CEC programs.

The proposal submitted by the New York City Board of Education conceived the CEC Program as one which, " . . . empahsized full community participation in planning for the coordination of existing resources and programs and in the

development of new programs." (See Title III Planning Report, p. 1.) Specifically, the Board envisioned that community residents and school personnel would:

1. Advise the Superintendent of Schools and the Board of Education on matters of program development and policy matters relating to the operations of the Urban Education program.
2. Assist with annual and long-range program planning.
3. Assist with the annual evaluation of the Urban Education program, including its programming, services, and activities as they relate to the needs of the community.
4. Consult on appropriate phases of the planning, development, and implementation of programs to be administered through the Urban Education program.
5. Participate in the plans for the operation of programs as the programs are developed. Such participation should take place before programs are submitted to the State Education Department for approval.

It was the intent of the Board, "to design a new system of educational programs which would permit direct participation of community representatives and which would be responsive to the needs of a particular community or neighborhood," (p. 2, Title III Planning Report).

Members of the community conceived of participation in the CEC program as a way

> . . . to exercise control over such areas as expenditure of funds, personnel, and determination of programs to be offered. Some communities envisioned a structure in which they would have the final decision-making authority on all fiscal matters and standards for employment and firing of staff. Advisory Committees . . . saw themselves as (a) board empowered to both make and implement policy decision. (p. 26, Title III Planning Report)

It was obvious that community residents conceived of participation in the CEC program as consistent with the stated or implied intent of the Regents' statement.

The conception of involvement for participants in the CEC program was similar for the Regents' Statement, the State Guidelines, the New York City Board of Education and the results of meetings with and surveys of community residents. (See Figure 18.)

The Program

The conception of the CEC's Program as expressed by the Regents' statement (p. 11, Regents) included projects that might be undertaken in the following areas:

> for pre-school children—nursery school projects; for in-school youth—student tutoring, after-school and summer classes supplementing regular school work, pupil personnel services in health, nutrition; for adults—training for child care, job retraining, recreation and hobby programs; for all persons in the community—learning diagnostic services, neighborhood library centers, projects in the performing arts. (p. 11, Regents)

It was clear that the Regents conceived the CEC program as dealing with educational and social problems associated with all age groups (in and out of school) residing in the community.

The State Guidelines conceived of the CEC program with these specific areas:

1. Early Childhood Education
2. Basic Skills Education
3. Guidance and Counseling
4. Innovative Programs for Disaffected Youth
5. Model Demonstration Schools
6. Community Education Programs
7. Adult Basic Education

The State Education Department viewed the CEC program as a way of dealing with the performance deficiencies of ghetto pupils. Accordingly, the State's conception of the CEC program was dictated both by the broad areas of concentration and the specific deficiencies evident among members of the target population.[7]

The proposal submitted by the New York City Board of Education conceived of programs in the CEC pattern which would:

1. Provide for the operation of a network of services which, in effect would surround the existing elementary and secondary educational system by extending vertically to reach everyone from infants to aged, and horizontally to provide a broader spectrum of supplementary services to children in school.
2. Include exemplary and innovative programs, that do not presently exist in the designated area.
3. Identify and coordinate the wide variety of agencies presently available and providing services and those created to fill voids.

4. Provide for the integration of services of agencies or groups having common goals. (p. 2, Title III Planning Report)

It is apparent the Board's conception of program in the CEC pattern agreed with the Regents' statement and the State's Guidelines.

Community residents were canvassed through the use of survey (pp. 51-53, Title III Planning Report) to determine how they conceived the program of the CEC. The projects that were proposed by community residents covered the full range of approaches and concerns expressed in earlier meetings. Generally, community residents conceived the CEC program as a method for mitigating educational and social problems.

At the conceptual level there was consensus among all parties involved. However, the level of participation remained ambiguous for all groups participating in the design.

COMMUNITY PERCEPTION OF THE C.E.C.

Level of Participation

Although there is variance from community to community, several general perceptions about the matter of participation have emerged.

Since most local residents are unaware of the CEC operation, participation in its affairs has been minimal. As long as most projects emanate from schools and serve the children attending local schools, as well as the children's parents, the community population directly involved will be selective and limited.

Those who have been involved in CEC activities, as either paraprofessional employees or participants, tend to object to "outside decision" and control that affect internal community matters. And when this "outside" agency is identified, it is usually the Board of Education that is named. However, when asked "who should control community projects?" the overwhelming sentiment was for either "complete control by local residents" or, and this is the interesting point, "control by local residents and outsiders joining to make local decisions." It is apparent that most community residents recognize the need for professionals with certain expertise to work in community based projects when they do not reside in the district.

Despite an unfamiliarity with the Regents' guidelines for "full community participation" in the CEC, most local residents favor, in varying degrees, the

amorphous concept of community control. Nonetheless, they are equally concerned with improving local conditions which demand outside assistance. This explains in part why professional outsiders are accepted, although often not with open arms. It also explains why those residents participating in the CEC are most likely to identify with paraprofessionals, who generally reside in the community. Although there has been no overt example of conflict between the professional and paraprofessional staffs, there is little doubt that varying perceptions and degrees of loyalty to the community could be a source of potential bitterness between these groups. Additionally, the social and economic distance between professionals and paraprofessionals is another source of distrust that has not yet been manifested, but could conceivably lead to interference in project functions.

Since most community residents emotionally recognize a difference between "perceived ability to" and "perceived need for" change, "community control" will be the demand that seemingly leads to convergence of the two ideas. Increasing control, at the present stage of community development, influences perceptually the ability to effectuate changes. And direct participation is inherent in that conception of "community control."

Considering the extent of this feeling, it is indeed surprising that widespread community involvement in the CEC does not exist. However, limited communication and a general suspicion that this is a Board of Education initiated and controlled program, discourages community involvement. One resident, speaking of the C.E.C. project, for example, said, "The Board of Education staff runs everything in the CEC." While another commented that, "The local administration is only a puppet of the Board of Education." With suspicions of this kind rather prevalent, even greater awareness of CEC services might not increase community participation. (See Figure 19).

Program

Most community residents familiar with the CEC view program as a manifestation of basic community problems. Even when cynicism or, at the very least, skepticism, is expressed about the CEC's ability to deal with these problems, the impression still remains that projects exist because of community concerns.

Many of those aware of the CEC perceive its program as a way of employing local residents. They see programs as a "government obligation" to poor areas and, as such, an alternative to less tasteful forms of financial support, i.e., welfare payments. This partially explains why there is such a great impetus to hire community people, even when they lack some of the needed skills.

In addition, many of those residents somewhat sophisticated about politics interpret the CEC program as a trade-off keeping the community "under wraps." In this sense the program significance is the fact that government authorities are providing funds for local areas.

BOARD OF EDUCATION PERCEPTION OF THE C.E.C.

Level of Participation

Although the Board's CEC proposal includes the phrase "full community participation" it is interesting to note that these words did not appear in an initial Title III proposal that was rejected by the Federal authorities (See Title III Planning Report). Clearly, representatives of the Public School system have adopted the rhetoric of contemporary social movements, but it is still questionable whether they have changed their perceptions of the problem. It is also worth asking whether they *can* change their perception of the problem.

Revisions in the CEC guidelines reflect a desire to accommodate to federal standards, not a basic attitudinal reversal. Even though community participation is widely accepted in concept and practice in parts of the city, Public School personnel generally tend to view this process with reservation and anxiety. Since legitimacy is not conferred on local groups, at least not by those officials who count, the system can continue to resist relinquishing any of its authority. At the same time its power over operating procedures and disbursements can frustrate efforts to involve more community residents in CEC projects. For example, a resident without the necessary qualifications can still be hired if he receives a certificate of competency. But only the Board of Examiners can take such action. In this case, Civil Service procedures, even though it is unintended, serve to limit the degree of community participation and retain the authority and vested interests of those who administer the public school system. (See Figure 19.)

Futhermore, there is the deep seated emotional feeling expressed by some school personnel that if some authority were relinquished the system would have no raison d'etre. Although not articulated in this way, *it is apparent that greater community involvement leads inexorably to diminishing the school system's control and ultimately alters the rationale for its existence.*

In order to accommodate the vocal and volatile groups seeking greater community control, representatives for the system have tended to make rhetorical rather than actual revisions in policy. This is a technique that may provide the school system with Federal grants, but may ultimately be counter-productive. The possibility exists that this kind of ploy may so exacerbate bitterness in local areas that no government agency will be accorded the respect necessary for a mutual exchange of opinion.

Program

Conceptually the Board has agreed to provide community services that are diverse in character, ranging from medical aid to remedial reading programs. In practice, school system personnel tends to view the entire CEC program as an extension of general aid to the existing instructional program. They therefore have a limited and somewhat parochial view of what the CEC should or could be. This view also explains in part why most projects emanate from the schools, why prinicipals have inordinate authority over their operation and why many projects duplicate the activities of regular or special school programs. (See Figures 19 and 20.)

Since the School system also has the authority to approve proposals, its standards can influence the substance of those projects. This explains why many community residents, CEC employees and even the system's authorities perceive the CEC as another, almost indistinguishable supplemental educational program indistinct from the intent of any other federal or state program. It also partially attests to the axiom that a change in conception is not necessarily a change perception, and consequently, in implementation.

Figure 18

Contingencies in the Conception of
the Community Education Program.

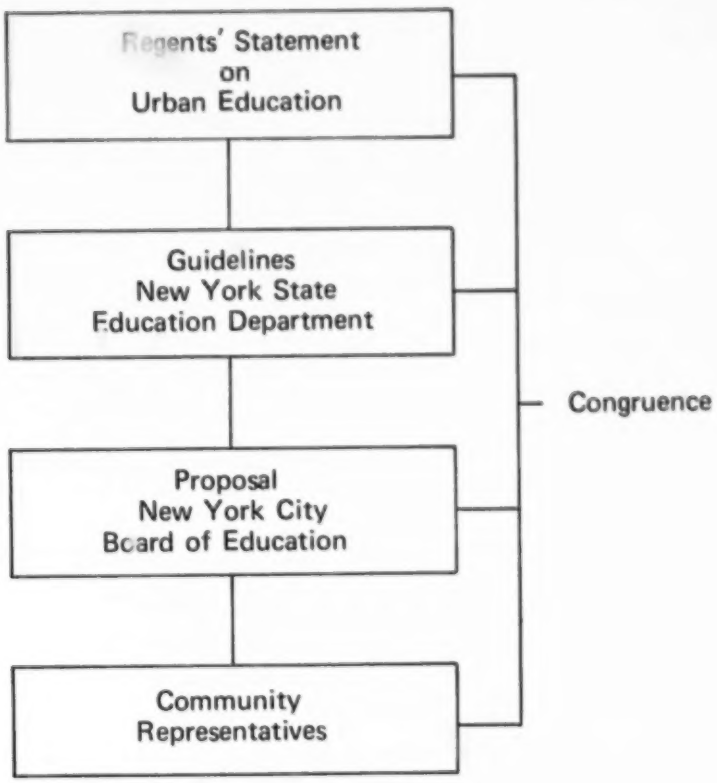


Figure 19

Contingencies in the Perception of
the Community Education Program.

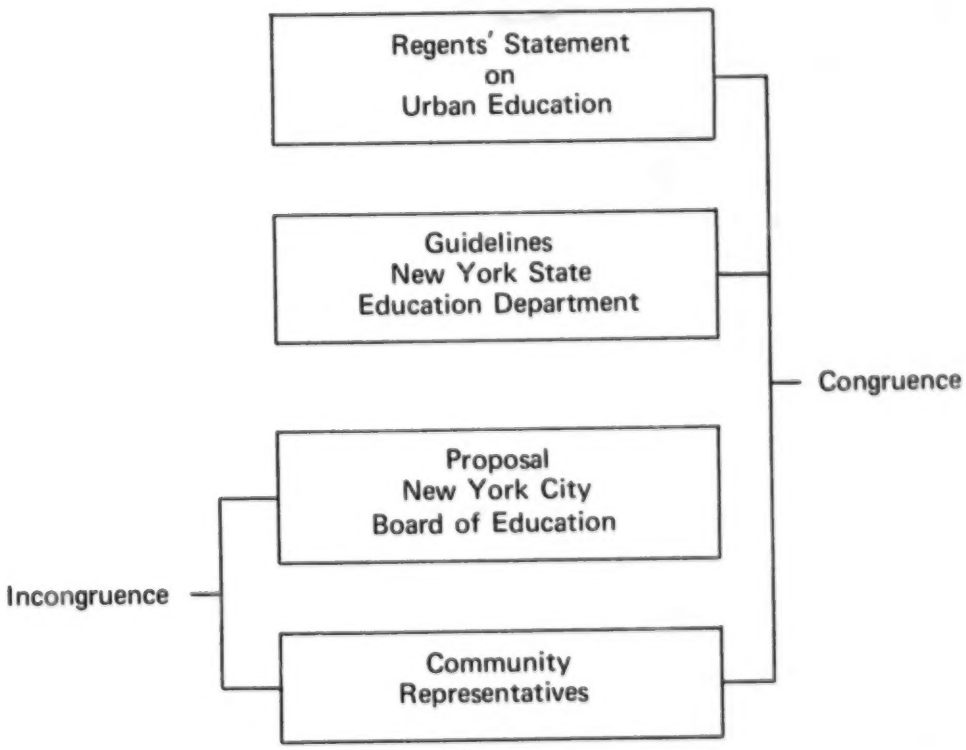
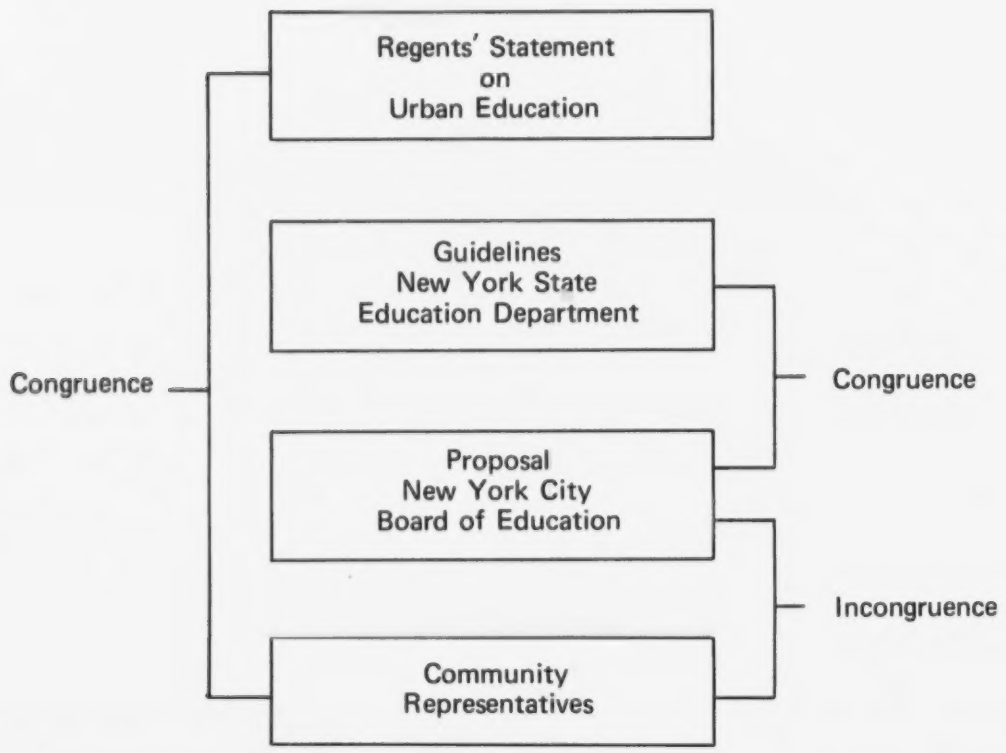


Figure 20.

Contingencies in the Perception of
the Community Education Program



VIII
RECOMMENDATIONS

As has been mentioned throughout this evaluation, the major problem confronting Community Education Centers is the dichotomy between what was intended and what was implemented. It is obvious that a greater degree of autonomy was anticipated by the individual Centers, but that in fact all their operations were altered to function as integral parts of the regular school system under the direction of the District Superintendents and the Central Board of Education. The many problems, frustrations and disappointments caused by this operational redefinition of deviation from the "community" concept are discussed from various perspectives in almost every chapter of this report.

Therefore, our five sets of recommendations deal with major restructurings of the CEC program in order that it may return to its original emphasis on "community" planning and implementation.

I. Administrative Relationship between the State Department of Education, New York City Board of Education, and CEC's

The administration of the CEC should be changed so that the Board of Education mandates specific and well-defined procedural functions to local districts for implementation

This proposal could be adopted by:

(1) establishing State offices in each district to monitor and handle administrative details required by state statute, or

(2) creating subsystems of the Board of Education that maintain, implement, by state statute, or

residents and are situated in local areas.

In the first case it can be anticipated that congruence between State guidelines and Community implementation will be assured. However, bypassing the Board would probably create many political problems and an "awkward" precedent. In the second case, the Board could maintain its authority and, presumably, improve the level of administrative efficiency. However, this proposal is predicated on the degree to which local residents are given some authority in this subsystem. Historical antecedents do

not make this option completely satisfactory, but it does have overriding positive characteristics that recommend its adoption.

This seems to be the best solution to administrative problems, since these subsystems might report to the Board, but they would have jurisdiction over local matters, including purchase orders, site requisition approval, certificate of competency (subject to approval by the Board of Education) and salary payments. They should also employ, whenever possible, local residents who have some familiarity with the district. Aside from the administrative details that can be critical to a project's performance, the subsystems can also establish a more formal network of communication with the State Department of Education. This might be one way of adjusting the apparent misconceptions of the CEC that have evolved between the Board and the State office. But the overriding reason for making this structural change is perceptual. Local subsystems could alter the way in which many residents being served by the CEC view representatives of the Board of Education. It is conceivable that the Central Board organization, often described as a "slumbering, inefficient bureaucratic giant," could become a more sensitive instrument for perceiving and remedying local problems. And even if this did not occur, the effort to do so would not run the risk of administrative chaos and might positively affect the generally low opinion of the Central Board's activities and functions held by many community residents.

II. The Conception of the CEC

At the outset all program objectives should: be clearly stated, provide for reasonable participation by all parties involved and establish unalterable lines of authority between each level in the agreement.

1. A clear statement of CEC objectives and guidelines should be issued from the State Department of Education to appointed representatives of the Board of Education and the Community Education Centers. This statement might clear up the confusion surrounding the CEC grant and its relationship to Titles I and III.
2. A formal and well-defined line of authority between the State and the Board of Education and its possible subsystems, or the State Department of Education and its possible subsidiaries in local districts, should be established.

Only with this delineation of authority can the bureaucratic system develop consistant policies in regard to projects, personnel practices, budgetary matters, site approvals etc.

When one considers how programs such as CEC are conceived it is no wonder they do not measure up to preconceived expectation. Without a clear mandate from higher to lower authorities, delineated administrative responsibilities remain obscure. "Full community participation" captures the rhetorical thrust of the moment, but it is not a concept easily implemented.

This situation gives rise to a distinct impression on the part of everyone, from the state legislators that passed the act approving CEC funds to the local residents presumably receiving the benefits of those funds, that the money will not really make any difference for the people in the target population. Cynicism of this kind is not only bred by historical failures; it is partially the result of misconceptions borne from unclear and unstated purposes. Many ghetto residents who have been canvassed over the past five months view the CEC as "another payoff" but "one that won't reach the people that count." To some extent CEC funds do create an "artificial" middle class in ghetto areas, but this very group sometimes confirms the worst suspicions of the poor. On another level, many community residents view CEC funds as part of a political trade-off that wins support from local representatives and gives them the visibility necessary to maintain their positions of local leadership. However viewed, the widespread negative perception of the CEC program is not likely to win general public approval.

III. Community Participation

In order to obtain the maximum degree of community participation, an avowed aim of the CEC, (1) *the Advisory Board should be elected with the authority to make project recommendations concerned with the selection and operation of projects,* and (2) *to facilitate the "participation process," funds should be provided to conciliate local interest groups, prior to the initiation of projects.*

It is anticipated that opening the channels for participation will provide the CEC with a more representative community character, while giving it certain responsibilities and developing an understanding of CEC objectives should upgrade the quality of decisions and the desire of local residents to be involved.

Since the articulation of general concern by Black community residents in S. Carmichael and C. Hamilton's *Black Power,* the notion of "community control" over local institutions has become the method for manifesting the power of political alienates. Theoretically the idea has much to commend it. On the one hand it might serve to improve services that in some cases cannot get much worse; and on the other hand it might deal effectively with the question of powerlessness so characteristic of ghetto residents. But practically it has had neither effect.

The reasons are fairly obvious. Terms such as "full community participation" are not realistic. All activities are bound to be restricted to those eager to participate and in most cases these numbers are limited. Years of deprivation have in many cases inhibited the will and ability of ghetto residents to participate. And even the word "participate" is subject to so many varied interpretations, e.g., voting, attending meetings, serving on a committee, making decisions, that its use often does not affect "actual" participation at all. The arbitrary definition of community often restricts combined local action. There is no reason why people living within a four mile radius should have similar concerns even when ethnicity is the common bond. Lastly, "fuli community control" is unrealistic so long as other government agencies have higher authority to affect community life. For example, the federal, state and local governments certainly have more direct involvement in the lives of any local residents than the community governing board.

These arguments, however, are not posited to vitiate the concept. They are designed to make that concept more modest, realistic, and subject to implementation. When goals are so poorly constructed that they envision the millenium, ineffectiveness is assured. "Community involvement" might be a valuable cohesive factor when the term is reasonably defined by the *implementors* not the *theoreticians,* and when state and federal authorities realize that the employment of the phrase does not assure commitment, only familiarity with the rhetoric of the moment.

One way to make "community involvement" a viable concept is to take into account the local special interest groups that are competing for ascendency and that often impede, though not necessarily intentionally, the development of projects. To promote a more consistent "community position" in regard to the CEC local differences between community residents and school personnel about project goals and operations should be conciliated. This requires funds designated specifically for this

purpose prior to the initiation of actual operational programs and a commitment from legislators that this conciliating process is necessary to assist the smooth operation of projects at their commencement.

IV. Program

The essential criteria for selecting, developing, and evaluating programs should be determined on the basis of a critical analysis of selected demographic factors, educational goals, community services provided, and degree of local participation.

When political consideration, either inside or outside the community impinge on program decisions, the results are often adverse.

A more systematic analysis must be given to the reasons why certain projects are being instituted. As long as the amount spent for projects is finite, decisions will have to be made on which projects will benefit the greatest number and offer the most significant results. Viewed in this way it is worth asking why projects meant to increase cultural awareness play so important a role in the CEC program when other more basic considerations such as low school achievement, and increasing number of dropouts, are being neglected. Lest this interpretation seem arbitrary, it should be noted that in District 7 programs for and assistance to drug addicts are being given almost no aid, even though drug abuse is clearly a problem more acute than cultural deprivation.

It seems as though many projects are often selected with little or no regard for determining needs through careful research. Those that have been funded or have achieved some visibility are more likely to be approved than new ones. But this de facto procedure often ignores a fundamental aspect of the CEC grant: developing projects that serve community needs. And this is likely to continue unless needs are specifically determined in order of importance and the allocation of funds reflects these local priorities.

V. Administration

Staffing

1. *Appointment criteria, job description by category, advertising for posts and salary by position should be consistent across districts.*

Under the present circumstances inconsistencies relating to the factors cited

above have created morale problems on a scale that has interfered with actual program functions.

2. *A much heavier preference should be given to community residents for all positions in the CEC from Central staff to project staff, from professional to paraprofessional. In order to accomplish a greater degree of local participation more flexible hiring practices should be introduced, especially for paraprofessionals.*

Since paraprofessionals represent the only major source of local employment, their role should be emphasized to assist in achieving "full community participation." Paraprofessionals can also help to develop a concern for community affairs that is not always evident in the professional staff.

3. *Training programs should be carefully planned for each project with paid pre-service training, especially for paraprofessionals. In-service training should be designed as part of the project's operation for all staff.*

Funding

1. *The time involved between the submission of proposals and the ultimate funding authorization should be reduced.*

Since most of the projects are being resubmitted, it would appear that the time can be reduced. Whatever time may be needed to review proposals and budget estimates the authorization to encumber funds should be received by Directors no later than two months prior to project implementation.

2. *It is strongly recommended that projects be funded on a three year basis rather than annually.*

Long-range planning simply cannot take place on a year-to-year basis. The ability to attract the best qualified personnel is greatly inhibited. Most damaging is the psychological impression of impermanence engendered by the present policy.

3. *The authorization to transfer funds from line item to line should be extended to CEC District Directors.*

A policy permitting transfers of $500 from one line to another, providing the total allocation for a project remains unchanged, is suggested. It is in keeping with standard practices throughout the school districts in New York State. The bidding and purchasing procedures of the Board of Education are not always appropriate when applied to CEC projects. For example, regular school programs have accumulated an inventory of supplies. A delay of six months in delivery of supplies may be manageable in the case of a school program, but absolutely disastrous for the new CEC projects. A few other examples illustrate reasonable modifications which might be considered.

The State of New York takes competitive bids for large quantities of school equipment and supplies (the list is exhaustive and includes brand name floor wax, paper goods, furniture, canned food, ditto machines, tires, buses, etc.). Low bids are awarded on condition that vendors supply not only the State, but also any school district and municipality at the same price. Qualified agencies deal directly with vendors, stipulate the State contract number knowing that it cannot be obtained at a lower price. As indicated, the Imprest Fund is limited to $50 and can be refunded upon depletion. The limitation of $50 on disbursements is not realistic and should be raised to a more reasonable figure.

Complete records of the financial status of each project are maintained at 110 Livingston Street and it is understood that these records supercede those maintained at CEC offices. If the present administrative arrangement were to be retained, monthly reports of the current state of each account should be provided for each CEC by the Central Office. This would overcome the surpluses which will undoubtedly occur when encumbrances are made. What could be accumulated is a list of catalog prices and actual expenditures for discounted items. Feedback of such information would relieve much of the anxiety and frustration engendered by present conditions.

Facilities

1. *Certain of the CEC administrative office facilities should be improved, if necessary, moved. The minimum arrangement should include private offices for administrative personnel so that people with responsibilities may confer with staff members.*

Work stations should be grouped according to function rather than haphazardly determined by space availability. Districts 4, 14 and 19 are cases in point.

2. *The procedures for acquiring off-site space should be simplified.*

Where monthly rentals can be arranged, problems are diminished. Leases, however, are more involved and are of questionable legality since CECs are funded for only one year. The Board should take the initiative in clarifying this matter and perhaps leasing facilities for CEC.

3. *Some effort should be made to facilitate the use of local engineering and architectural firms.*

Under present regulations this does not appear probable. Local contractors have difficulty bidding for renovations and alterations required in some CEC facilities. They express interest, offer advice and consultation to CEC personnel, but are not knowledgeable about meeting bid requirements. Most importantly, they often are not in a position to post a 100% performance bond.

IX

EPILOGUE

The evaluation of Community Education Centers highlights a number of procedural and philosophical problems and issues peculiar to a study of the recent attempts at community participation in social and educational programs. Therefore, it is instructive to discuss certain findings in terms of their broader educational implications and possible long-range effects on practice.

One problem that was evident in the Evaluation Design for Urban Education Programs suggested by the New York State Education Department involves a heavy emphasis on standardized testing of selected achievement variables. When one considers the unique nature of the CEC Program, the position on evaluation promoted by the State creates a number of problems for the evaluator. Since CEC is a new program that was originally intended to deal with social action more than with increases in education attainment or positive changes in certain attitudes; it is difficult to know which factors are most appropriate for determining the program's effectiveness.* Furthermore, community participation refers to a temporal emotional state of diverse groups and individuals which, as yet, can not be accurately assessed. And in addition, there are no empirical models or meaningful descriptive experiences for determining the antecedents to and the nature of critical factors operative in an effective community participation experience. Consequently, this suggests that the traditional evaluation design proposed by the State is dysfunctional as a pattern for judging the effectiveness of community participation for alleviating negative social and educational conditions.

Another issue raised in this study involves operational differences between *evaluation* and *research*. This prevailing view is expressed in an article by J.W. Wrightstone:*†

> Research is concerned more with the basic theory and design of a program over an appropriate period of time, with flexible deadlines, and with sophisticated treatment of data that have been carefully obtained and analyzed.
>
> Evaluation, in general, is not concerned with basic theory, which is the province of research, but with practical solutions to immediate educational problems.

*Evaluational issues and problems relating to this notion are discussed in detail by David K. Cohen in "Politics and Research: Evaluation of Social Action Programs in Education," *Research of Educational Research*, Vol. 40, No. 2, pp. 213-238.

*† Wrightstone, J. W., "Educational Evaluation in Perspective," pp. 3-17 in *Educational Evaluation*, Columbus, Ohio: Ohio Department of Education, 1969, edited by Joseph L. Davis.

Since the CEC is a new program, data from comparable programs are not available. Therefore, it is difficult to formulate an evaluation design on the basis of findings and conclusions relating to the objectives of the CEC Program. Moreover, the primary objectives of the CEC program, i.e., community participation, is expressed as a latent goal. Therefore, an evaluation of the secondary, operational goals has been conducted in the traditional sense (See Volume II), but by definition it is impossible to "evaluate" progress toward the primary goal prior to establishing baseline data which outline relevant perameters. At this time, any study of community participation should be considered "research."

When a new program in its developmental stage is evaluated, the data generated are tentative. It is probably premature to gauge the relationship between program effectiveness and the incidence of community participation before valid trends are established through a series of evaluations.

Some Thoughts on Methodology

The goal of any evaluator is two fold: (1) to make valid judgments about the effectiveness of a program and (2) to compare one program with other existing programs. The first goal has been largely achieved in the present study. However, the second goal has proved to be elusive because of methodological problems. It might be profitable to explore some of the methodological issues which inhibit comparisons of different and rival hypotheses.

If one were to conclude that "In all useful measurement, an implicit comparison exists when an explicit one is not visible."* It is possible to understand why evaluation comparisons warrant careful attention to methodology. Measurement is always regarded as a comparison, and as such, special approaches are required to achieve interpretable comparisons between measurements collected from different programs. programs.

The conditions under which most programs have to be evaluated precludes the use of two of the special approaches required for the achievement of comparable conclusions: (1) an experimental design requiring the use of randomized respondents, and (2) index numbers which control the irrelevant sources of variance through weighted aggregates (Webb *et al.*, p. 6). Since neither of the above approaches was

*Webb, Eugene J., Donald T. Campbell, Richard D. Schwartz and Lee Sechrest, *Unobtrusive Measure: Nonreactive Research in the Social Sciences,* Chicago: Rand McNally, 1966, p. 5.

reasonable in the present study, any attempt to make valid comparisons should use a third approach–"plausible rival hypothesis" (Webb *et al.*, p.8). . . .(T)his approach asks what other plausible interpretations are allowed by the research setting and the measurement processes." Since this is the method employed, it should be a valid standard for judging this evaluation.

There are many "Plausible rival hypotheses" that could have been entertained as a reasonable comparison with the data observed. But since it was not possible to reduce the number through the use of experimental methods and indices, and since additional data were unavailable, a thorough comparison was inhibited.

Research Problems

There were several outstanding problems associated with this evaluation: (1) the inaccuracy of subject responses, (2) the inexperience of some interviewers, and (3) sampling imperfections. Subjects were often aware of their status and as such were prone to make a "good impression" or "ignore the questions." The responses of many subjects in this study reflect their awareness of the evaluation's goals. There were also instances of negative interviewer effects and alterations in research instruments, as well as sampling errors due to population selection and transiency.

A Tentative Model of Evaluation

Based on this experience, the model which follows may offer an appropriate pattern for studying programs of this type.

An evaluation of a community program would also involve a careful study of all the parts shown in the following model as separate studies (note left side of vertical dividing line). These could include: (1) local government budgeting policies and practices for schools, (2) selected sociological factors and (3) selected psychological factors. The right side of the vertical dividing line represents aspects of the school's organization that have to be studied, while the left side indicated factors impinging on that organization. The flow of the diagram suggests that there is a close relationship between school officials, the information system, and the evaluation of the interaction process. This model may contribute to other evaluations by assisting data collection and by pointing out the interrelatedness of most program components. Hopefully, this

model will enable future evaluators to avoid the pitfall suggested by Cohen:

> To confuse the technology of measurement with the real nature and broad nature of evaluation will be fatal. It can only produce increasing quantities of information in answer to unimportant questions. (p. 237)

The present state of public schools in many urban areas suggest that we cannot affort to pursue answers that do not permit educators and citizens to made meaningful changes in the way we educate.

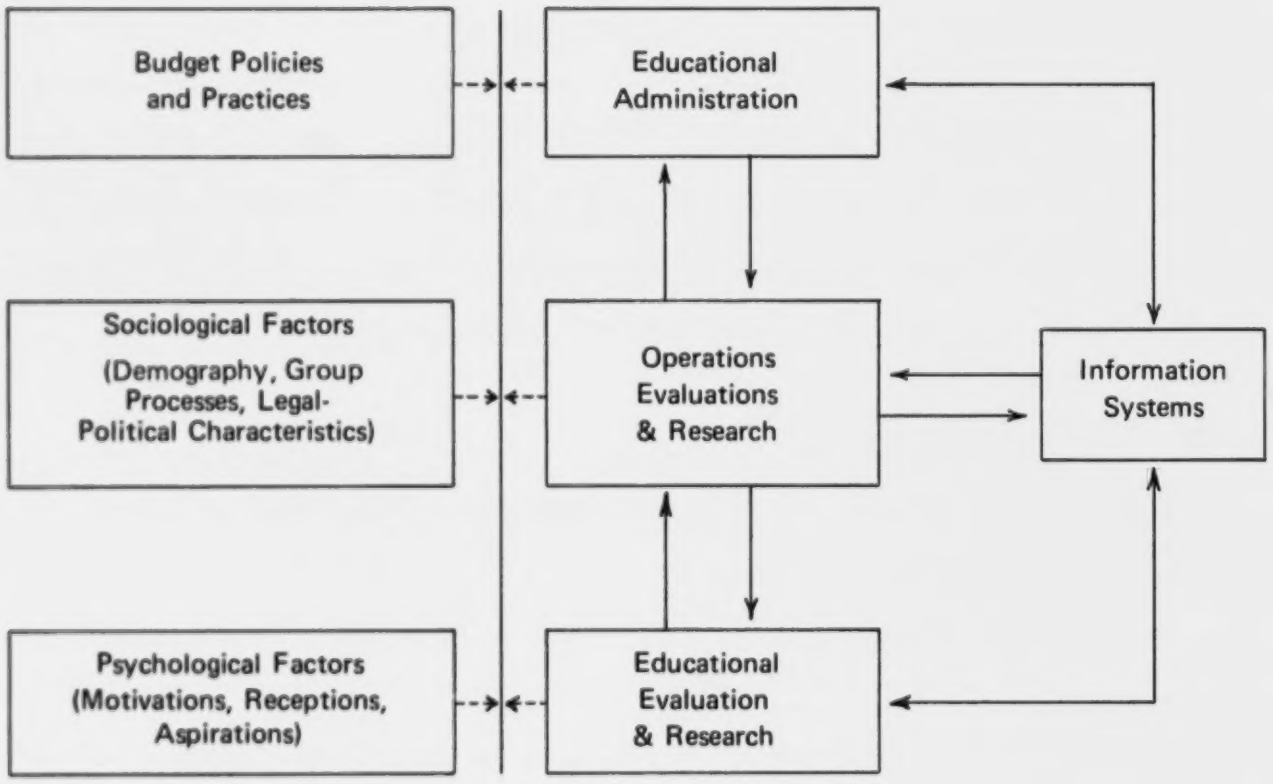

Budget Policies and Practices
Educational Administration
Sociological Factors (Demography, Group Processes, Legal-Political Characteristics)
Operations Evaluations & Research
Information Systems
Psychological Factors (Motivations, Receptions, Aspirations)
Educational Evaluation & Research

Figure 21. Model for Evaluation of Program Operations*

*Adapted from a model presented in Educational Researcher, AERA, Vol. XXI, March 1970, pg. 3.

SUMMARY

Community Education Centers were originally created to provide coordinated and concentrated educational services in selected districts in New York City for the most disadvantaged youth and for adults with low educational attainment and restricted social mobility. As a model, the CEC program allows community members and professional educators to identify educational and social problems, to plan programs for producing solutions, and to conduct appropriate programs using a decentralized form of administration. In this sense, the CEC program encourages professionals and laymen to work together on common problems with mutual understanding, respect and sense of purpose.

In order to analyze the goals for the centers, an evaluation model was specially constructed to:

1. Ascertain whether the development and implementation process has been effective.
2. Give an accurate description of the operational patterns which characterize projects in Community Education Centers.
3. Assess the effectiveness of the operational projects emanating from the CEC program.
4. Delineate the relationships between selected CEC variables and project characteristics.
5. Formulate specific recommendations for improving each operational project.
6. Formulate specific recommendations for improving each Community Education Center.
7. Formulate specific recommendations increasing the effectiveness of the city-wide Community Education Program.

Community Education Centers commenced in 1968 when a proposal emphasizing full community participation in the planning and developing of projects was accepted by the U.S. Office of Education. The planning funds were provided by a Title III grant, while the operational funds were obtained from State Urban Education money.

The planning stage was punctuated by controversy over the degree of community involvement. Some participants desired final decision-making authority on all fiscal and other administrative matters, while others suggested this request was unreasonable. Ultimately the idea of "community involvement" in the CEC was revised to reflect administrative and fiscal control by the New York City Board of Education and program control by local residents under the general supervision of District Superintendents. However, vesting administrative and fiscal responsibility and control with the Board limited the opportunity for community residents to be involved in significant program decisions.

In theory, community needs were to be determined by district Advisory Boards. The members of these boards were to be residents of the district who were familiar with the services already available in the neighborhood, and who could speak for the local population in determining what additional services were desired. These boards were to work closely with the CEC District Coordinator and the District Superintendent in planning programs. Once programs were operational, the Boards were to serve as community evaluation teams, providing feedback from the projects to the District Coordinator.

In practice, Advisory Boards have no final authority in planning how funds are to be spent. In many instances they act as "rubber stamps" for decisions made by professionals within the District School system. It is interesting to note the special interest groups represented on the Boards. The dominant groups in order of reported frequencies are the PTA, Community Agencies, and Board of Education personnel (professionals). If one combines those sub-groups which have a clear, common interest (Board of Education personnel, PTA, Local School Board, Principals and UFT) it immediately becomes evident that the dominant group represented on the Board is one with a commitment to the present pattern of conducting programs in the school system.

Since "full community participation" does not exist to any significant degree at the decision-making level, one might next look to the operational level to see who is employed by CEC.

The professional staff members of CEC are often not residents of the community they serve. In a few districts, the ethnic composition of the professional

staff reflects that of the district, but in some other cases not even this can be said. The non-professional staff, on the other hand, generally does live in the community, and is representative of the dominant minority groups there.

Although hiring practices vary between districts, a typical model of the process can be drawn. Due to Central Board policy and UFT and CSA contracts which provide the basic constraints, regularly licensed teachers and supervisors are hired to fill professional positions. Persons with certain needed skills, not possessing a Board of Education license, may be nominated to take a Certificate of Competency examination conducted by the Board of Examiners. This examination consists of a review of records and an interview. The District Superintendent usually hires the Center Director and his two key staff assistants, with the approval of the local Advisory Board.

Project staff normally receives adequate job orientation about specific tasks and expectations but orientation about the CEC as an operation–what it is, what it does and how it relates to their project–is seriously inadequate. Most staff members, professional and non-professional, receive little or no orientation about the overall CEC operation during the hiring process or training periods. There is a lack of printed materials about CEC. The paraprofessionals, particularly those hired by principals and working under a school professional within a school facility, are especially confused. Most do not even know they are employed by the CEC, but rather think of themselves as being employed by the school system.

Funding the CEC demonstrates the emphasis given to particular program objectives. For evaluation purposes it was necessary to establish a classification system. According to these clearly delineated categories, the highest percentage of CEC programs (16.8%) deals with "Basic Skills;" only 4.0% deal with "Health and Drugs" and 4.0% with "Artistic Skills." "Basic Skills" also receive the highest percentage of the total budget: 16.6%. In most cases the dollar allotments closely reflect the emphasis put on a particular category. Notable exceptions are "Community Involvement," which accounts for 5.0% of all projects, but receives only 1.7% of the total budget, "Guidance and Counseling" which represents only 10.9% of the total number of programs but accounts for 14.6% of the budget; and "Training of Staff" which includes only 7.9% of all programs but spends 10.3% of the total budget.

As far as facilities are concerned, 94% of project sites are located in schools or other Board of Education buildings, while only 6% are in storefronts or other

community spaces. When project coordinators were asked to comment on their facilities, 66% rated their offices and their storage space as poor, or merely adequate. Fifty-one percent of those having reproduction rooms found them to be good or very good, 61% gave their activity rooms the same favorable ratings, and 66% felt their classroom space was more than adequate.

In conception CEC was viewed as a program with characteristics distinct from those of its predecessors. In practice, the basic aspects of the program are similar to many of the Title I and Title III programs. In fact, a sizable percentage of the total CEC budget was spent on old programs formerly funded by Title I or Title III. (The exact percentage was impossible to establish because these programs were integrated into the regular school's supplemental programs.) Similarly, the methods for control and initiation had some guidelines in conception, but the practice indicated ambiguous standards that limited the sharing of authority. Conceptually the CEC was designed to extend community participation and provide needed services. But for external and internal political reasons "community participation" often became little more than an attempt to expand political constituencies or cool potentially explosive local situations.

The CEC–Board of Education relationship is a function of reciprocity and exchange. Since the Board is the legitimate agent for distributing funds for any educationally related programs, the CEC cannot exist without it. Yet the Board's administration has been *perceived* as being ineffective to a point that the CEC cannot operate effectively as part of the public school structure. Symbolically the Board is seen as suggesting that communities receiving funds subordinate themselves to the funding agent; while community leaders view the funds as a legitimate exchange for stability and political favors. In this instance, the central Board bureaucracy is perceived as an unnecessary administrative control. With different perceptions of reciprocity and exchange, neither CEC leaders nor Board personnel share similar views of authority or common goals–a situation that perpetuates mutual distrust, conflict, and eventual overt opposition.

In general, the differences between conception and perception as they influenced the CEC program's implementation characterize the basic thrust of the evaluation report. It was apparent from the outset that the original statement of purpose was perceived differently by Board personnel and local residents. In very practical ways,

this difference in perceptions led directly to controversies over methods of implementation and control. Part of the misperception involved unrealistically stated goals, e.g., "full community participation." Other misperceptions involved the discontinuity of "ability to" and "need for" community change–a factor which expresses the desire for "community involvement." It was also apparent that different perceptions were related to the rationale for an institution's existence. In the case of some Board of Education personnel the anxiety exists that relinquishing some authority will lead inexorably to the demand for the relinquishment of all authority. Since the Board also has the authority to approve proposals, its standards can influence the substance of those projects. This explains why many community residents, CEC employees and even Board of Education authorities perceive the CEC as another, almost indistinguishable supplemental educational program. It also partially attests to the axiom that a change in conception is not necessarily a change in implementation.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Predicated on this discussion are the following recommendations for every aspect of CEC. (For further analysis of these points refer to Chapter 8 in the text.)

1. The administration of the CEC should be changed so that the Board of Education mandates specific and well-defined procedural functions to local districts for implementation.
2. At the outset all program objectives should: be clearly stated, provide for reasonable participation by all parties involved and establish unalterable lines of authority between each level in the agreement.
3. In order to obtain the maximum degree of community participation, an avowed aim of the CEC, the advisory board should be elected with the authority to make project recommendations concerned with the selection and operation of projects, and to facilitate the "participation process," funds should be provided to conciliate local interest groups prior to the initiation of projects.
4. The essential criteria for selecting, developing, and evaluating programs should be on the basis of a critical analysis of selected demographic factors, educational goals, community services provided, and the degree of local participation.

5. Appointment criteria, job description by category, advertising for posts and salary by position should be consistent across districts.
6. A much heavier preference should be given to community residents for all positions in the CEC, from Central staff to project staff, professional and non-professional.
7. Training programs should be carefully planned for each project with paid pre-service training included, especially for paraprofessionals. In-service training should be designed as part of the projects operation for all staff.
8. The time involved between the submission of proposals and the ultimate funding authorization should be reduced.
9. It is strongly recommended that projects be funded on a three year basis rather than annually.
10. The authorization to transfer funds from line item to line item should be extended to CEC District Directors. It would seem reasonable to extend specified transfer powers to directors without reducing accountability.
11. Certain of the CEC administrative office facilities should be improved, if necessary, moved. The minimum arrangement should include private offices for administrative personnel so that people with responsibility may confer with staff members.
12. Procedures for acquiring off-site space should be simplified.
13. Some effort should be made to facilitate the use of local engineering and architectural firms for renovating prospective project sites.

Specific recommendations for each project are included in Volume II of this report.

What this report suggests is that empirical models for evaluation of community programs are inadequate. Most of those that do exist ignore the complexity of a CEC program, the tremendous population being served and the unmeasurable effects of community involvement. Admittedly, this evaluation does not cope with these omissions satisfactorily either. Yet even with its flaws, the basic limitations are recognized—a point that may assist future researchers and evaluators more than anything else.